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ABSTRACT

This report discusses innovation in inservice education and training of teachers (INSET) in France. The first section deals with INSET in relationship to the French educational system, research institutes on the teaching of mathematics, and teacher training assignments in business and industrial firms. Section two presents four case studies. The first, inservice education for primary teachers, discusses theory and the application of theory, along with plans to coordinate this program with others. The other three case studies are the Maurice Baquet Course in physical education and sport, a scheme for the inservice education and training of teachers in the first cycle of secondary education, and a training course for teachers in social psychology. The final section clarifies the essentials of the INSET problem as it confronts policy makers and administrative authorities. The uncertainties concerning the objectives of INSET and the prospects for the future are examined. (SK)

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INNOVATION IN IN-SERVICE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS

FRANCE

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CENTRE FOR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND INNOVATION (CERI)

INNOVATION IN IN-SERVICE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS

- FRANCE -

by

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The views expressed in this report are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the Organisation or of the national authorities concerned.

ORGANISATION FOR ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT
1976

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Section I

INTRODUCTION

NATIONAL CONTEXT AND CLIMATE OF THE DISCUSSIONS

1. Present position

1. "A coherent system of in-service education and training for secondary school teachers will certainly need to be instituted." By replying in these terms to a question put by a journalist (1)*, the Minister of Education, René Haby, was testifying, with all the authority his position carries, to the fact that such a system does not exist. On the other hand, he had previously recalled that "for several years primary teachers have already had access to a system of continuing training, details of which are laid down in the relevant legislation". True, "the machinery set up for continuing primary teacher training has already reached a considerable degree of maturity and operational reality... it comprises a vast area of innovations. (But) the still brief history of this vast movement cannot be presented in the form of a harmonious table depicting uniform and smooth development. What characterises it, on the contrary, are the disparities... in the initiatives taken - or not - and the solutions adopted... in the pace and intricate pattern of development as between one place and another".(2) In short, even the best structured part of the French system for the continuing training of teachers does not belie the following overall assessment made by another expert: "At present, the continuing training of teachers resembles a vast work-site on which separate groups of people are at work, sometimes in co-operation, occasionally in competition and mainly in total ignorance of each other."(3) The diagnosis was made two years ago but is still valid.

2. This situation is nevertheless paradoxical. France is known for the centralisation of its school system and for its hyper-cartesian attitude of mind. It has made such a contribution to the concept of "permanent education" that the expression frequently appears in French in foreign texts. It has, moreover, drawn the inferences from this in the form of legislation: the Act of 16th July, 1971 concerning "continuing occupational training in the context of life-long education" aroused international interest. This Act applied to teachers and provided legal backing for the introduction, in 1972, of the continuing training of primary school teachers. It is even surprising that it was not extended, by a similar procedure, to the entire teaching body. Indeed, at the symposia held in Caen (4) and Amiens (5), there seemed to be a broad concensus of opinion on the need for teacher training to embrace, organically, both initial and further training, and even on its major features. This originated in a trend of thought to which the "new classes" movement had given rise in the period immediately following the Second World War and which was given concrete expression in the years 1955-60, by the setting up, round the Institut Pédagogique National (National Teaching Institute) of a network of Pedagogical Documentation Research Centres (CRDP), designed to improve the educational system by the further training of teachers, based on practical work and research. Since 1968 the issue has again been debated on numerous occasions in joint Commissions, ranging from the 1969-1970 Commissions on educational reform and the "PAULIAN" Commission and the National Symposium on Education held in November 1973, to the July 1974 "reflection" groups.

* Notes are to be found at the end of the book.

One ought therefore to be able to consider that the constituent elements of the problem at least have been clearly identified and that all that remains to be done is to discuss lines of approach and to draw up a time schedule. But, in practice, what we have at the present time are mainly exchanges of invective and confused and impassioned controversy.

3. The reasons for this paradox are complex, heterogeneous and difficult to unravel. The field is one where the idea men have of things is no less important than the things themselves. It is therefore interesting - if only to be able to interpret the description of currently observable practices - to start by looking into the controversies which have been mobilising the various bodies concerned, with particular tension, over the last few weeks, i.e. the administration, universities, teachers' unions and educational movements.

Without going into details of the views expressed by these groups, we can sum up the situation as follows: there is no known ministerial policy concerning in-service education and training for teachers (INSET); a united teachers' view is unattainable. Consequently there is no possibility of a fruitful dialogue.

4. The lack of a fixed ministerial policy is apparent from the statement quoted above. The Act of 11th July, 1975 does not deal with teacher training. As for the proposals "For the modernisation of the education system" put forward in February, 1975, they devote half a page (out of fifty) to continuing teacher training. Presented to the Council of Europe (6) in September 1975 as reflecting the conclusions reached by the "reflection" groups on the French education system which met in July 1974, the passage in question is striking on account of its similarity in thought, and even expression, with the sections devoted to the same subject in the 1974 OECD Study "New patterns of teacher education and training" (p. 38-40).

5. As for teachers' unions, a journalist undertook to review their positions vis-à-vis teacher training for a special issue devoted to this subject by the magazine "L'éducation"(7). He found that there was agreement among them to demand in-service education, openly or implicitly. But by what methods is another question: "the training of teachers is one of the key issues which highlights the ideological background against which technical stances are adopted: solutions are cut and dry and completely irreconcilable. And although the terms used sometimes bear some resemblance, there is always a divergence in their profound meaning".

The teachers involved here were secondary school teachers who are in fact divided by ideological divergencies. But even allowing for these, they are all, for different reasons, against the National Union of Primary Teachers ("Syndicat National des Instituteurs"). The bone of contention is the first stage of secondary education which is the second phase of compulsory schooling. For primary school teachers compulsory schooling forms a whole: it is the "basic school", with a staff which should ideally be unified by initial and in-service training. They should be helped to make the necessary adaptations to the various levels of development of children between 2 and 16 years old. For secondary school teachers, it is secondary education which forms a whole and which must bring up-to-date forms of culture which even yesterday were reserved for the social or intellectual elite, and offer them to all children from the age of 11 upwards.

6. Here we touch the heart of the difficulties. The interrelation among the various factors - ideological stances, corporate interests, balance of power among pressure groups - makes it virtually impossible to express in purely functional terms the issues posed by the institution of a "coherent system of in-service education for secondary school teachers", the need for which the Minister is not alone in asserting. Everyone else recognises the urgent need for "the modernisation of the educational system", with which in-service education and training of teachers is obviously linked. And everyone would no doubt agree with the terms he uses to define the threefold objective: "to promote in France a fairer, freer and more modern society".

But agreement stops at the words: what is a "free" society, a "fair society, and a society which is both free and fair? Most French minds are divided in varying degrees between the major liberal or socialist trends: according to whether people are influenced more strongly by one or other of these trends, they will no doubt adopt different criteria or advocate the same methods of approach. To advance towards greater justice in a context of greater liberty, is undoubtedly the general wish. But "to provide equality of opportunity" - to go no further than that - calls for as many divergent remedies as there are diagnoses of the nature and causes of the inequalities to be reduced, the chances of succeeding and the legitimacy of social structures. This situation is not viewed with equanimity by teachers who are aware that the battle against inequalities is far from having been won and are anxious to exonerate themselves from the blame for having lost it.

As for modernising society, that is not in itself an educational project. We cannot undertake to adapt schools to our times, whether from the point of view of the economy or the way of life, without first selecting, in present-day society, what is worth adapting young people to. The role assigned to the school, and hence the direction its modernisation will take, will depend on what choices are made whether openly stated or not.

7. Even the modernisation of teaching alone gives rise to controversy. This was clearly apparent in the case of mathematics. It is also true of educational technology, which is suspected of making pupils and rank-and-file teachers subservient to machines, technocrats and a multinational educational industry. Social psychology generates just as much distrust in all directions. Some people see group communications and techniques as facilitating the intrusion into teaching of psychiatry, sex and subversion. Other people remember that social psychology found its first fields of application in business management training and industrial psychology: it is only a short step from this to see in its practices a bait or an instrument of manipulation, a new opium of the people. These concerns are sometimes expressed in virulent terms, and sometimes remain unformulated or disguised mental reservations. But these verbal excesses and this reticence are added reasons for including these factors in our analysis of the resistances to innovation: we are perhaps a little too ready to regard the latter as objectively necessary and beneficial; it is not so in everyone's eyes, but is not solely a bad thing either, as G. de Landsheere very pertinently reminds us.(8)

8. In France, however surprising it may seem, innovation in 1976 remains the focal point of a whole tissue of misunderstandings. To agree on objectives and differ on strategies would be normal. In fact, as we have seen, despite what people say, disagreement bears on concrete objectives and is unsurmountable. Must we then, to use Mr. G. de Landsheere's words, approach innovation from the "gadget's" end? As we have also seen, we finally come up against the same difficulties. For the fact is that an educational system is really a "system", even in common, everyday language: for it to work properly there must be coherence among all its parts. Any change in one part upsets the balance of the whole and gradually affects all its components, principal among which are human beings: it follows that if the new principle of coherence which governs this change is not clearly defined and accepted, the most diverse forms of resistance are built up and at the same time the signs of malaise go on increasing.

As far back as 1972 the Committee of Enquiry into the teaching function in secondary schools (called the "Committee of Wise Men") saw in the breaches of coherence on the one hand, and the lack of a clear and coherent redefinition of school objectives on the other, the major causes of a very serious crisis.

9. No doubt the present political situation makes it extremely difficult to formulate such a definition. Any educational scheme is a blueprint for society. But whereas the state school is everyone's school, no blueprint for society is currently capable either of commanding unanimity, or even of rallying a wide majority. And the vast majority of

teachers openly advocate a blueprint opposed to the one put forward by the government of the day.

We still need such a definition, however, if we are to find a way out of this neurotic dialogue of the deaf. All we need to do is to incorporate in the educational scheme the absence of a consensus on the blueprint for society: that is why the "Committee of Wise Men" assigned school the function of learning to manage conflicts. This daring recommendation had little chance of being heeded and we remain in deadlock.

10. This is not the only difficulty. Even if we take it out of its ideological and political context the development of the educational system itself raises problems which themselves are not always correctly identified and there again the major issue is one of coherence.

Despite perceptible changes and transformations which are sometimes substantial, but always partial, our educational system still rests fundamentally on the scholastic description of the school learning process: it is this which ensures coherence of conception between the teacher's role, the definition of his service, and his competence and training. Let us call the system to mind once again: the pupil must learn, understand what he has learnt, retain what he has understood and reproduce what he has retained. Corresponding to this sequence, stage by stage are: the teacher's exposition of the subject; practical exercises; oral and written homework; and, finally, the recitations, periodic tests and examinations. When the pupil has become capable of reproducing the entire cycle of study he becomes a teacher in his turn, and the reproduction cycle is complete: by tradition in France teachers are recruited from among the best pupils.

The teacher's role is therefore to initiate the process by giving the lesson, facilitate and monitor its progression through stages 2 and 3, and finally to give official recognition to its acquisition in the final stage.

11. This role determines the conception of the teacher's service and competence. It is normal that a considerable part of his duties should be devoted to preparing lessons and exercises, and to correcting them, along with homework and tests. Indeed preparation and correction constitute two stages which are as important as the class itself, the essential relationship being that which is established between the teacher and each pupil individually, especially through written work (which, inter alia, relegates technological subjects to a subordinate place in the curriculum). The time spent with pupils can only represent a limited, and even calculable part, of the teacher's official duties: hence the fondness for defining these in terms of hours of teaching - each definition representing a number of hours of work which increases in proportion to the level of the studies concerned. Hence too, and as a consequence of this, the avowed conviction that limiting the number of hours in question, together with the lowering of the number of pupils per class, is a basic condition for the improvement of teaching.

12. As for competence, it is traditionally defined basically in terms of the ability to give the lesson; this necessitates having a good knowledge of the subject matter, resulting from scientific training and academic culture; to this must be added the ability to make oneself understood, and this flows, to a greater or lesser degree, from the excellence of one's knowledge (which enables one to "master" the subject, and also from a natural gift and from professional experience. The academic level required for each category of teachers will therefore be determined, as a matter of course, in relation to the level of knowledge of their pupils, no matter whether this is the result of age or of the education category concerned. And vocational training proper will be regarded as completed once the master is able to do the teaching: it is for him subsequently to keep himself up-to-date, on his own initiative and in the way he chooses (professional literature, meetings with specialists, university courses, research work, etc.) - the same remarks apply to any endeavour to specialise or gain individual promotion.

13. All this system is coherent. But if it is to work properly the assumptions on which it rests must remain valid. Can we go on supposing that educational activity should be limited to teaching? Or to postulate that, provided it is done in accordance with the rules of the art, the transmission of knowledge automatically develops a person's mind and character and thereby constitutes the best preparation for life? The system suits pupils for whom the highest vocation would be to become like their teachers. It supposes that the culture to be transmitted is evolving at a speed which allows the teacher to keep up-to-date by his own means. It assumes, moreover, that permanence is more important than change and that it confers privileged status on the perennial disciplines such as geometry, the classics and classical philosophy.

14. It is obvious that the accelerated pace of historical change has altered these premises. The system keeps itself going through its own inertia, despite the internal breaks we have already alluded to, but it is no longer justified, even if teachers remain attached to one or other of its parts.

From now on change will be in the forefront of people's concerns. The ideal to which pupils are asked to aspire can no longer be that of resembling their teachers: such an ideal must be either discovered or put together through common effort. The system's entire equilibrium is modified as a result. Priority should now be given to the evolutionary sciences, physico-technological on the one hand and biological and human on the other. The "practical work-lesson" sequence first replaces the "lesson-practical application sequence, the lesson being completely done away with a growing number of cases. The teacher-pupil relationship changes from the "master" to the "minister" type (i.e. from the transmission of knowledge to co-operation in research), which completely alters the introduction of educational, audio-visual and other technologies into teaching.

15. The structure of the terms of service inevitably undergoes radical change as a result: for the teacher, too, the most important time of the day becomes that spent in joint research with the pupils, working collectively, and giving free play to, and even making the most of, group phenomena. The content of the preparatory stage alters - pupils can moreover be called on to give their opinion. The same applies to the evaluation stage which is no longer conceived of in relation to a fixed model, but in terms of jointly adopted goals.

The bulk of the teacher's work - even in quantitative terms must now be done among the pupils, in co-operation with them by means of flexible groups and independent inter-disciplinary work activities - not to mention the redistribution of roles which the rational use of teaching technologies would imply.

16. Competence and training also take on a different character. Teaching efficiency must now be considered for its own sake; we no longer dare view it solely in terms of mastery of a given discipline. It calls for abilities in the teacher which are both those of an engineer and of a group leader.

What he must be able to "master", is not so much a given subject matter as a learning situation in which the unforeseen elements are deliberately taken into account, then integrated into progress towards goals which have been set as clearly as possible. Thus priority is no longer given to academic learning but to teaching conceived of as the technology of a profession. It does not follow from this that the required competence is of the same type as manual proficiency, based on imitating experienced people and acquiring the tricks of the trade. Know-how becomes obsolete as quickly as knowledge: the problem is not so much to imitate successful ways in which situations have been handled in the past as to invent solutions to problems (9) which crop up in a new form as time and the pupils go by. We must therefore give the word "technology" its forceful meaning, which links it to science more than to empiricism.

To guide a learning process in which discovery, trial and error, and creative divergency can play a fruitful part also calls for qualities of group leadership: professional

efficiency depends on the teacher's personality as much as on his culture and technique. There is no doubt that we only learn how to learn in order to learn something, and the teacher must obviously possess the knowledge which he must help his pupils to acquire. But the order of concern is now reversed, and with it that of the various stages of training. We must begin by the ability to form relationships, i.e. by practice, followed by thinking which can and must be of a high level: a teaching situation can be handled with rigour and exactness just as much as traditional literary or scientific research topics. It merely presents an added methodological difficulty in that it inevitably involves both observation and intervention.

From this stems a whole series of consequences: the hierarchical grading of teachers according to levels of knowledge no longer has any justification, since competence is a function of the learning process rather than of its content. In the universities the educational sciences departments will be just as much in demand as those devoted to the various disciplines; the major competence now becomes ability to adapt to change within a constantly changing system, whose coherence must now be dynamic and no longer circular.

17. New skills call for a new - or updated - type of training: this can only be continuous: it must be based on practice; and we cannot insist too strongly on the part which training of the teacher himself must play in it, for two major reasons.

The first is that educational activity which aims at fostering people's personal development and not only at enlightening their minds no longer depends solely on the quality of intellectual exchanges, but on that of relationships among people, hence on the richness, strength and availability of the teacher as a person.

The second is that the unrest among teachers is showing no signs of abatement. This is not mere discontent but is even manifest in the fresh outbreak of mental disorders among teachers. The causes for it are well known, ranging from the conditions in which the transformation of the educational system is taking place, with its ensuing uncertainties, disappointed hopes, suspicions and guilt feelings, to the more or less masked difficulties of everyday life, of contact with young people, and of collective relationships, in schools where authority is no longer guaranteed by the institution but has to be acquired. It is essential for training to enable teachers to acquire or consolidate the means to resist and to assert themselves.

18. Training will not therefore be limited to acquiring academic and teaching ability: use will be made of the experience gained in communication seminars designed for business executives, and in training courses run for socio-cultural group leaders. Some people would like the checking of a teacher's competence to be limited to verifying, on the eve of his recruitment, or during an initial observation period, that there are no counter indications - a useful precaution no doubt, but difficult to implement in practice: there is a danger of attaching too much importance to the teacher's "gift" or procuring a convenient alibi for refusing to attach due importance to the personality training in vocational training proper.

19. These techniques (ranging from corporal and verbal expression to group experiments and meetings) are just as suited to in-service education, particularly in its present retraining form. They not only assist change and provide support against the anxiety felt in the profession itself, or at the challenges it is facing; they will also promote awareness of an essential aspect of teaching reform: i.e. the need for students and teachers to take account of the claims of the body, the emotions and the unconscious, both individual and collective, and the complex relationships between speech, experience and institutions. The pure transmission of knowledge - a missioner, according to André Lichnerowicz - is now coupled in our educational project with the conscious intention to "train young men in such a way as to foster their personal development and facilitate their full insertion into social life":(10) personal development and insertion are

two processes which can no longer be ignored in their bodily, emotional, rational and ethological dimensions. And this educational project, Lichnerowicz goes on to say, is "served by human beings"(11): this term must be given its full meaning. Teachers are not distributors of knowledge or disembodied intellects. They are human beings, fully "committed"(12) to the educational endeavour, with their body, sensitivity and emotions, just as much as with their culture and teaching ability - and also with their options as citizens. Training must take this into account.

Naturally this type of training which has been called "a therapy for normal people", arouses sharp and contradictory reactions: they are a part of both the syndrome and its treatment.

20. By insisting at great length on the psychological - and sometimes psycho-pathological - climate in which the difficult transformation of the French educational system is taking place, we may have given the impression, in turn, if not simultaneously, of stating the obvious and looking for difficulties where there are none. However, this was necessary in order to highlight current practices, understand their incoherence and the incoherence of the expectations voiced, and also to avert the difficulties which new operations will no doubt encounter, simply because they correspond to aspects of the modernisation project itself which have been understood in different ways - perhaps even in order to suggest means of avoiding such difficulties.

21. To complete this initial presentation of the general background something must be said about the present economic and financial crisis and the employment crisis in which all these more or less planned changes are taking place: it cannot fail to heighten the anxieties and tensions. But it also sometimes happens that these factors combine in an unexpected way to make such an operation successful when its intrinsic merits would not perhaps have done so. In-service education and training is a typical case in point. It was instituted in 1972 strictly in keeping with the spirit of the inter-professional agreements reached in July 1970 and of Act 71-575 of 16th July, 1971. But it is probable that even the relentless pressure of the powerful National Union of Primary Teachers would not have succeeded in mounting an operation of such magnitude if the Ministry of National Education had not been confronted with a hopelessly inextricable and explosive situation, at the primary level with growing masses of young teachers, reserve staff or freshly trained teachers, who fulfilled all the statutory conditions required to be established but could not be owing to lack of the necessary funds. And one might expect to see similar causes produce the same effect at secondary education level if the controversies about the role and training of teachers in this sector did not make it much more difficult to reach a compromise which would open the way - provisionally at least - to action.

Summing-up

22. The present position of INSET in France is something of a paradox, the causes of which merit attention.

One might have expected to find in this country, if not a system already at cruising speed, at least a coherent programme of action resulting both from the teaching theory developed over the last 30 years and from the application of Act No 71 575 of 16th July, 1971 on continuing vocational training, which has the same underlying philosophy.

In fact there is nothing of the kind: there are a host of apparently unconnected activities, based on different if not conflicting concepts, but which occasionally impinge on each other.

This is due to:

- uncertainty about the exact nature and extent of the modernisation of the educational system initiated by the Act of 11th July, 1975;
- differences of opinion among teachers, and among the general public regarding this undertaking;

- the incomplete and superficial assessment of the changes that need to be made to the system, of the ordeal they imply for teachers and consequently of the support they would need to be given.

In short, people do not seem to have a clear idea of what they want to do, because they have not analysed clearly what ought to be done (and not only what can be done in the short term and in a specific field). The result is deep unrest, which calls for urgent remedy, in particular by suitable in-service education and training activities, but unfortunately in attempting to define these we come up against the very causes of the unrest: the situation is worthy of Ronald Laing.

2. Principle forms of in-service education and training of teachers

23. This analysis, where emphasis has deliberately been put on the difficulties, must not give the impression that INSET in France is at present completely inconsistent and that it does not engage in any activities worthy of interest. There has on the contrary been a spate of activities, and we can only regret, for the clarity of this paper and for the efficiency of the system, that it is so difficult to group them round a few clear and coherent guiding principles.

In its reply to a Council of Europe survey (13) in September 1975, the Ministry of Education was able to report that there were INSET activities, of an average duration of 2 weeks, covering 179,000 teachers in 1973, 188,000 in 1974 and 195,000 in 1975 - i.e. for each year roughly 30 per cent of the total number of teachers. It drew a distinction between two categories of provisions, the first compulsory and the second optional.

24. Among the compulsory provisions it grouped:

- continuing primary teacher training (which will be the subject in Section II of an in-depth case study);
- the in-service training plan for teachers at technical schools (secondary level).

This operation is explicitly linked to an index reclassification, to which only teachers who have undergone the proposed training are entitled. It is designed to "adapt these teachers' knowledge and methods to changes in technological subjects". A critical description of this operation - which concerns 32,000 teachers (of all disciplines, both general and occupational) - will be found in G. FERRY'S study on "Experiments in the continuing training of teachers"(14). We will not dwell on it here, as it does not include anything of an "innovative" character.

25. The optional provisions cover a very great variety of training periods, seminars and study sessions organised by various institutions more or less linked with the administration, at national or regional level, or else proposed by the universities (if need be by means of newspaper advertisements).

We will extract two sets of operations from it which, although they do not warrant a case study, nevertheless deserve more than a passing mention:

- the retraining in modern mathematics offered to teachers of different levels by the "Instituts de recherche sur l'Enseignement des Mathématiques (IREMs) - (Research Institutes on the Teaching of Mathematics);
- the one-year training assignments in economic environments (to which will be added, on account of their common political and teaching background, the training of organisers of continuing training in the CIFFAs and the training of teachers for the "practical" cycle).

A. THE "INSTITUTS DE RECHERCHE SUR L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES MATHEMATIQUES" (IREMs)

26. The IREMs were introduced in 1969 to contribute to the solution of a dual crisis due to the fact that there was a shortage of qualified mathematics teachers and that teachers who had undergone normal training found themselves faced with the problems posed by the modernisation of the discipline. So far 16 IREMs have been set up throughout the country, with the aim of providing each "Académie" with at least one IREM.

Their purpose is to contribute to the continuing training of mathematics teachers while participating in research on the teaching of the subject, and producing teaching material and tools likely to be of assistance to teachers in their task.

The structures in question are not elaborate, they have no organic status and they are staffed by university tutors and secondary school teachers who divide their time between the IREM and their normal teaching duties. An IREM can thus have between 15 and 20 specialists, under whose supervision every Wednesday (the day when least school teaching is done) some 200 lycées and other secondary school teachers come to work in groups of 12 to 15, for 3 hours a week or fortnight for one year, and for this they are granted a corresponding reduction in their teaching schedule (or an allowance).

The activity of the IREMs, which initially focussed on lycée and first cycle of secondary college teachers, a significant number of whom have already been covered by the scheme, was subsequently extended to technical schools ("Collèges d'Enseignement Technique"), where a four-year plan was drawn up for the retraining in modern mathematics of any teachers of this category who had not received it in the course of their initial training. This latter activity is conducted in systematic liaison with specialised inspectors and also with the OFRATEME ("Office Français des Techniques Modernes d'Education" - French office for educational modern techniques): the latter devised television programmes for this purpose which have now been dropped in favour of films which are easier to handle and are distributed by the CRDP ("Centres Régionaux de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogique" - regional centres for educational research and documentation), which are also involved in the process.

This coordination of resources belonging to different bodies and authorities is one of the interesting features of the IREM operation: it stems to a large extent from the solidarity of mathematicians with each other. (The Association of Mathematics Teachers can legitimately claim to be the author of the project). They are by no means confined within their discipline however: first they opened their minds not only to content but also to teaching itself by concentrating the retraining effort as such (or the effort to up-date their knowledge) on the problems met with in class. They got psychologists to join them in order to make a better study of the mathematical learning process, and promote a change of attitude in teachers and in the class-room climate - the prime objective seemed to them to be that pupils should attend the mathematics classes in increasingly large numbers and do so with pleasure and consequently with profit. On a more general level this development has led to inter-teacher exchanges prompted more by the desire to compare practical experiences than by that of listening to the same lecture, and is a good means of paving the way to consultation among specialists from different disciplines who have to deal with the same pupils.

These concerns with practical teaching have not diverted the IREMs from the research function implicit in their name, and with the same aim of broadening inter-disciplinary contacts, they are actively involved in some of the research activities conducted by the INRDP ("Institut National de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogique" - National Institute for Educational Research and Documentation). For those in charge, and also for Professor Lichnerowicz, who initiated the undertaking, "the fact that the same body covers both the continuing education of teachers and research and experiment on teaching has

proved - as expected - to be an extremely positive factor in training itself".(15)

It is only a short step from these sentiments to the hope, expressed by Professor Lichnerowicz, that each IREM will have its own experimental school, and that each teacher will be able to attend an in-depth INSET course every five years. This step is easy to take in theory, but we are still waiting, for the politicians concerned to make a move.

In any case on the eve of the launching of the plan for the continuing training of teachers, an official French document was able to state: "On the whole, the work of the IREMs represents the most coherent, substantial and effective element in the policy for the continuing training of teaching staff, which is itself linked to the policy of reform of the content and methods of French education".(16)

This tribute is still well deserved and development goes ahead. For although the modernisation of mathematics teaching has given rise to sharp controversy, this has in no way undermined the prestige of the discipline itself nor the conviction that it is more than ever a fundamental element in everyone's culture, although in forms yet to be devised.

B. TEACHER TRAINING ASSIGNMENTS IN BUSINESS AND INDUSTRIAL FIRMS (17) AND RELATED ACTIVITIES

1. Teacher training periods in the economic environment

27. In contrast to the IREM courses, teacher training assignments in business and industrial firms are only of historic interest today, as a promising experiment but one that was dropped before it could be usefully evaluated.

It was deliberately conceived as an experimental activity, launched in 1971-1972 in the spirit of the VIth Economic and Social Development Plan (which accorded major priority to industrial development) and the Acts of 16th July, 1971 (concerning continuing occupational training and the teaching of technological subjects), which were drafted in the same spirit.

"We cannot", wrote the Ministry official in charge of the operation, "speak of lasting industrial development if the education authorities do not have greater insight into the economic environment and greater recourse to it, and if businessmen do not take greater advantage of the possibilities offered by the educational system".

From this stemmed a whole series of liaison activities between the "University" (in the broader meaning of the term, which is traditional in France) and the business world: the creation of Universities of Technology, student training periods spent in firms, the involvement of engineers in teaching in the University Institutes of Technology, vocational diplomas that could be acquired by means of cumulative credits, the institution of continuing occupational training and so forth.

28. It is in this context that these training courses were introduced. Initially they were called "practical experience of industrial life" and were designed for teachers of technical and vocational subjects, but were soon expanded to embrace other sectors of the business world (commerce and administration) and all categories of teachers.

The intentions behind them were manifold and coherent, but not without ambiguity. Naturally the aim was above all to break down the wall of reciprocal and distrustful ignorance which separates teachers from the business world. It was hoped that, given a more realistic insight into the world awaiting their pupils, teachers would adapt their educational activity more closely to the requirements of practical life and contribute in a more enlightened way to the orientation of their pupils. It was also thought that the contacts made during the training courses would facilitate the integration of the school system into the general plan for continuing vocational training. However, the object of the courses was not to turn teachers into adult trainers or into continuing

training instructors (which we will deal with later): it was the trainees themselves who, in certain cases, demonstrated their interest in this new role.

As for the ambiguity, this was due to the goals initially assigned to the operation: "To stimulate a positive attitude towards topics relating to industrialisation and economic development". Teachers' unions have not failed to point out that this was tantamount to "approval for the type of industrialisation and development of our capitalist society" and put their members on their guard against this trap set by the employers.

29. Despite these ideological suspicions and the numerous snags encountered owing to improvisation, the experiment has on the whole given satisfaction to the 400-500 teachers who took part in it from 1971 to 1975.

The assignments were run throughout the whole of a school year, the trainees continued to be paid their salary and their post was kept open for them until their return.

The assignments were made up of three stages:

- an initial period (which varied from place to place from between 2 weeks and 2 months) designed to ensure a transition between school and business firm and to give a general insight into the social and economic environment of the firm;
- six months in an enterprise (industrial or commercial) or administration (municipal for example), in very different types of posts, depending on circumstances, but generally offering good contacts, despite the somewhat special position of these unpaid visitors;
- a final two-week get-together to compare experiences and draw conclusions which were subsequently synthesized at national level.

30. On the whole, group reports and individual comments reveal positive evaluations of the scheme from the personal viewpoint: participants do not say that they are won over to the mystique of industrial development or that they are particularly attracted by life in a business firm, but they consider that the change of surroundings - in itself - and also the critical exploration of this unfamiliar world, which is, however, the real world, have enriched them and prompted them to review their conception and practice of their profession.

The impact on the institution on the other hand is virtually nil: the trainees were too few in number and too scattered to shake the system out of its inertia.

31. The potential importance of the innovation was indisputable: the year's training course opened up new horizons to the participants, led them to take a new look at themselves, initiated them into adult teaching, and made them alive to the need to combine school-teaching and adult teaching in a continuous process within a coherent system of continuing education.

It could not however exert any appreciable influence without a change in dimension: "for it to start to have any import", the person initiating the experiment said in April 1974, "there would need to be 10,000 teachers in business firms every year and, in exchange, as many technicians working in national education".

A year later a new government took over. The Ministry of National Education was reduced to what elsewhere is called a Ministry of Elementary and Secondary Education. The Continuing Training Directorate ("Direction de la Formation Continue") was gradually whittled down to a mere service under the "Direction des Lycées" and the experiment gradually disappeared like a wadi in the sand. The innovation was linked to an outmoded political orientation: its discreet abandonment was by no means an indication of its failure, but pointed to a change of priority in the Ministry's activities.

2. The "Centres Intégrés de Formation de Formateurs et d'Animateurs" (Integrated centres for the training of adult trainers) (C.I.F.F.A.s) (18)

32. The teacher training assignments in business and industrial firms formed part of a set of co-ordinated and convergent activities, designed to gear the entire educational

system to the concept of continuing education. As this was becoming a national obligation, as stipulated in the Acts of 16th July, 1971, it was important to ensure that:

- on the one hand, the school system itself contributed to adult education (a special aspect of lifelong education),
- on the other hand, it was adapted to its new place in what has now become a much wider system: this was in particular one of the purposes of teacher training assignments in business and industrial firms.

These grand schemes have been deferred to a later date. Some of the activities to which they gave rise, however, continue. This is the case notably with regard to the "Projects designed to sensitise and initiate" now conducted by the specialised continuing training network run by the government ("Académie" delegates, group leaders, etc.).(19)

The specific function of the "network" in question is primarily to forge links between the economic and social sectors, where the need for adult education is likely to increase and to establish schools able to satisfy this need.

33. Initiated in 1972, the training of "trainers" in the "Centres Intégrés de Formation de Formateurs et d'Animateurs" (or C.I.F.F.A.s, numbering 16 in 1975) can be regarded as a particularly typical example of INSET - even if its aim is to prepare teachers for a new task rather than give them further training in their present job (although the trainers can retain their teaching functions as part of their activity, either during initial training or during their adult training). There are certain exceptions explicitly provided for "in favour of candidates from the private sector who have wide experience of adult training": the trainers are teachers, recruited from among people who have "some practical experience of business and industrial life, acquired mainly through an in-plant-training assignment", and more generally who have "some genuine practical experience in adult training".(20)

This training is defined as "complementary": it pre-supposes some previous training and experience which it systematically draws on. The aim is that these trainers should be able to take up their duties at very short notice, in view of the urgent new needs, and also because practical work is an integral part of the training involved. The latter, which lasts initially for one year, takes the form of alternating attendance at group meetings at the training centre (for collective thinking on the experiments and the necessary input of information) with periods of practical field training responsibility, with the support naturally of the Centre's permanent staff. It must make the trainees "capable of pursuing their training throughout the whole of their trainer activities", under a similar scheme, alternating this activity with regular or occasional group meetings. The training programmes are devised at local level in order to take account of special features identified in the field, and their preparation forms part of the training. Finally, the latter is accompanied by the similar on-the-job training of regional educators and administrators ("Délégués Académiques à la Formation Continue"), with the backing of a specialised national body known as the ADEP (Agence Nationale pour le Développement de l'Education Permanente - National Agency for the development of permanent education). It also has an impact on the in-service training of teachers who contribute to adult training activities; one of the trainers' functions is to help them to adapt, psychologically and pedagogically, to the special requirements of this type of action.

All this constitutes an INSET model specially conceived to accompany an innovation of a marginal character, as it concerns the involvement of the school system in limited adult training activities, but it is a model which sets the pattern for a larger scale operation.

3. The training of teachers for the "practical" cycle

34. The pedagogical doctrine implemented in the C.I.F.P.A.s originated in the National Adult Training Institute ("l'Institut National de Formation des Adultes"). This body, created in 1963 under the influence of B. Schwartz, played a determining role up to 1972 in the development of the concept of continuing education. It was this body which, in 1971-72, trained the permanent staff of the first C.I.F.P.A.s and which in 1966 had already been assigned the task by the Ministry of Education of planning the scheme for training teachers of the "practical cycle" and training the staff of the training centre.

This experiment, like the previous one, rests on the principles applicable to any INSET linked to a new function - i.e. in the present state of compulsory transformation of the educational system, the essential is the possible general introduction of continuing teacher training. That is why it is interesting to outline it briefly here, although the ongoing reform of the first stage of secondary education has to all intents and purposes robbed it of its objective by doing away with the practical classes.

The classes in question were designed for pupils of between 14 and 16 years old who were forced by law to stay on at school, where they rated as failures, and to provide them with a minimum of pre-occupational training, together with some additional general education. To staff these classes use was made of primary teachers - the need was for teachers specialised in several subjects - who were given some additional training so as to enable them to perform a role which was to a large extent new to them.

The training in question was devised in the spirit of continuing education - being based on the one hand on past experience and on the other hand on an analysis of the new functions to be fulfilled - and in accordance with the principle of alternating training with teaching: during a two-year training period the teachers spent two-thirds of their time in their classrooms and the remaining one third undergoing training (involving training courses or seminars, together with personal or collective research and study).

Another interesting feature of the plan was that the three teachers who shared the responsibility for the two classes were trained concurrently: i.e. the administration provided a replacement throughout the length of the training period which made it possible for them to attend the Centre in turn without the pupils suffering from their absence.

This project also had in common with the two operations previously studied the fact that attention was paid to the socio-economic environment: as the project concerned adolescents who would enter working life as soon as they had reached the end of compulsory schooling, it was very important for the teachers to get to know the environment into which the pupils would be going. The other point of reference, as regards pupils refractory to traditional education, was the teachers' practical knowledge of these pupils, the analysis of the factors underlying their academic failure, the detection of the interests on which to base action so as to help them to become self-directing.

From this flowed training programmes which were quite different from what can be regarded as an updating of knowledge or academic retraining. Many of these considerations will be found in the following section which studies the in-service education and training of primary teachers for environment-based inductive types of teaching ("pédagogie d'éveil"), which owes a great deal to the experiments conducted with children considered incapable of deriving any benefit from first level secondary education but who are, however, forced to stay on at school until the age of sixteen.

4. Other items in the inventory and general summing up

35. The IREM activities are connected with the modernisation of a discipline. Even though some people may think, like certain observers, that the consequent introduction of modern mathematics teaching gradually leads to a fundamental transformation of teaching relationships, it is also possible for the education system to accommodate this innovation by

limiting its effects to its own specific field: henceforth mathematics will be taught using a new terminology, employing less dogmatic and more inductive methods and leaving much greater scope for the pupil's own activity. But the overall study structure is not necessarily affected by it, and it can hardly be said that it fundamentally challenged the objectives of the education system.

However, the three schemes we shall now consider are bound up with the radical modernisation of the education system and at the same time with its democratisation, in as much as they make provision, without discrimination, for the less able pupils just as much as for the others, and for both adults and school children, and in addition provide information for teachers. They call for a change in the purposes of the system and in its teaching methods within the framework of a coherent plan: what we are dealing with here is a general innovation, which must be treated as such if it is to be given any meaning and a chance of proving effective.

36. It would not be nearly so easy to describe, from the innovation standpoint the many forms of INSET currently offered to French teachers, at national or regional level:

- by the education authorities or various para-administrative bodies (Centres Régionaux de Documentation Pédagogique - Regional Centres for educational documentation -, Radio-Télévision scolaire - Educational radio and T.V. -, Centre National de Télé-Enseignement - National Centre for Tele-Teaching -, Centre de Recherches Pédagogiques de l'Enseignement Technique - Centre for educational research in technical education, etc.).
- by private movements connected with a public service ("Centre d'Entraînement aux Méthodes d'Education Active" or "Union Sportive de l'Enseignement Primaire" for example) or by bodies under contract to the State ("Fédération des Oeuvres Educatives" and "Vacances de l'Education Nationale") (21). "Institut de Formation d'Etudes Psycho-sociologiques et pédagogiques", "Association pour la Recherche et l'Intervention Psychologique" and so on).
- by the Universities (courses offered in particular in connection with Continuing Occupational Training) or by specialists' associations or pedagogical movements, which are more or less recognised and State-aided, such as the "Institut Coopératif de l'Ecole Moderne", the "Cercles de Recherche et d'Action Pédagogiques", the "Société Française d'Education et de Rééducation Psychomotrice", the "Fédération Sportive et Gymnique du Travail", and the "Ligue Française de l'Enseignement et de l'Education Permanente", etc.

37. Every year the Official Bulletin of Education announces a certain number of national training courses which can be grouped into four categories:

1) further education in a given discipline (mathematics, languages, physical training) or given technique (audio-visual techniques, computer science);
2) specialised training in teaching various categories of handicapped children and performing the additional duties of psychologist, counsellor and inspector;
3) preparation for the job of school head;
4) preparation for the role of inspector.

We will not deal with them here because - even in the case of computer science - they are ultimately neutral as far as innovation is concerned: i.e. they can serve either to consolidate the traditional system or bring about changes in it. The same is true as regards radio and television broadcasts for schools and the correspondence courses given by the National Centre of Tele-teaching for use by teachers - which we will meet with again in any case in connection with the case studies.

38. Other activities have been studied by G. Ferry in the article already quoted above (22). The same volume contains an in-depth study of the experiment conducted at the Marly College of Secondary Education (CES): we thought it unnecessary to go into

details of it here, and to summarize it would rob it of its essential interest. It poses a major issue: i.e. the conditions governing the effectiveness of the wide-scale introduction into education of modern teaching techniques. The matter will be discussed in Section III, where we will also speak of the insertion, in a general INSET plan, of the spate of activity outlined above.

5. Selected case studies

39. As regards case studies, we decided not to devote the same amount of space to all of them but to concentrate rather on the in-service education and training of primary teachers although it has already been dealt with by G. Ferry in the aforementioned report and was also the object of a detailed study by G. Noel in connection with the OECD-CERI International Management Training for Educational Change (IMTEC Project).(23) Indeed, it is on the one hand an operation which is unique in France both on account of the conditions in which it was launched and of the staff numbers involved; and on the other hand, it makes it possible to identify nearly all the problems one would run into if one wanted to offer comparable facilities to all teachers engaged in compulsory schooling.

To this we will add three studies which seem to us to shed light on the major aspects of this problem (or of the methodology which makes it possible to tackle it):

- an "experiment in INSET for the first cycle secondary" will enable us to tackle co-ordination problems:
- the in-service education and training of physical education teachers will supply us with examples of the pedagogical measures taken as well as drawing attention to an area which, wrongly, is too often not included in people's thinking about education:
- finally, we will touch on the difficulties of making an evaluation on the basis of the example supplied by the "Institut de Formation et d'Etudes Psycho-sociologiques et pédagogiques", (as well as on the basis of other topics relating in particular to the institutional or human relationships between employers, trainees and trainers).

Section II

CASE STUDIES

CASE STUDY 1 - IN-SERVICE EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR PRIMARY TEACHERS

PREAMBLE: A REVOLUTIONARY NOVELTY

1. "For the first time, in the educational system and in the public service, a body as large and as representative as the primary teachers is acquiring the right to continuing training. This right, embodied in the 1971 Acts had been hitherto exercised only by engineers and executives in large business concerns. It represents a modernisation and upgrading - from the moral viewpoint, but that is nevertheless considerable - of the primary teacher's condition. This aspect of things, to my surprise is still only dimly perceived."

2. These words, spoken in 1974-75 by an "Inspecteur d'Académie" (educational area inspector), speaking in his capacity (for his "department": sub-area of organisation of the "Académie") as the "person responsible for continuing primary teacher training" were echoed in the following triumphant statement made by the secretary of the National Union of Primary Teachers ("Syndicat National des Instituteurs"):

"It would not be too much to say that the success our union has achieved is genuinely revolutionary".

"For the first time" he continues "a whole body of public servants will be entitled to some continuing training."

For the first time, all auxiliary grades will be abolished throughout an entire sector of Public Service.

To make a success of continuing training is to:

Give an impetus to the reform of teaching methods by helping to create "teams of teachers, and also to give the primary teacher training college its rightful place again, hence to give the teacher his rightful place and work towards the upgrading of his function".

3. A comparison of these two texts - one administrative and the other trade union in origin - is extremely rewarding, which will no doubt emerge all the more clearly at the end of this study. It brings out both the scale and novelty of the institution and the repercussions it cannot fail to have on school reform, initial training and teacher status: little by little the entire primary school system is bound to evolve towards a new equilibrium.

4. The scale of the operation can be gauged from a few figures. The number of primary teachers concerned is approximately 240,000. We can assume that since 1969 half of them will have attended a 6-week or 3-month INSET training course by the end of the present school year, and above all, since 1975, at an accelerated rate. The machinery set up

* By the very fact of the establishment of an overall system of continuing training.

for this purpose should, in theory, make it possible for all the others to undergo training within five years at the outside. The approximate nature of the figures given above can be explained both by the decentralisation of the organisation (which entails somewhat sharp variations from one department to another) and by the principle of voluntary teacher participation in training courses (which sometimes leaves part of the available facilities unused). Consequently, the primary teacher training colleges which, up to 1969, devoted their time solely to initial training now devote as much as 45 per cent of their facilities to in-service education. No financial assessment, which could be used for the purpose of this study, is available. Such an assessment is difficult to make in view of the varied sources of funding. All we know (24) is that the amount of expenditure is substantial although we cannot yet make a valid cost-benefit analysis.

I. ORIGIN

I.1 Prior to 1969

5. In order to appreciate the "revolutionary" novelty of the undertaking we must remember - without going back as far as the Flood - how French primary teachers were still being trained in 1968-69 (the training being the same, as we know, for the primary and pre-primary school). Student-teachers were recruited at the age of 16 by open competition at the end of the first stage of secondary education and then went to a training college for 4 years: there, for three years they prepared for the baccalauréat (academic qualification required of state primary school teachers) their last year being given over to theoretical and practical vocational training. Their tutors were for the most part lycée teachers, who had no special training and were generally better fitted to prepare pupils for the baccalauréat than for teaching in primary schools. It should be added that between 1950 and the mid-sixties the generation gap had led to a shortage of teaching staff and consequently to the recruitment of auxiliary teachers who were sent into the classrooms after a bare minimum of training and in some cases with no training at all. This latter fact is interesting above all on account of the repercussions it had on the type of continuing training subsequently introduced: to fill the gaps in initial training, is not exactly the same thing as to undergo training - in the light of experience - which is designed to be resumed and continued.

I.2 1969-1972

6. 1969 saw the combination of two factors:
   - the general application of an experiment conducted over a period of several years in a certain number of training colleges resulted in extending to two years the professional training of student-teachers, the second year starting with a 3-month training course during which they were asked to take full charge of a class. As a result it was possible to send the teachers thus released out on a training course for the same length of time;
   - under a decree dated 7th August 1969 the primary school week was reorganised along the lines of the "Tiers Temps" formula (the "organised day") regarded as more likely to promote the teaching reform advocated by the 1968 and 1969 ministerial commissions. The implementation circulars insisted on the need for an immediate effort to be made to retrain teachers so that they could make the best use of the new timetable; the idea was to institute a form of teaching better suited to the new role assigned to the school given the perspective of raising the statutory school leaving age from 14 to 16.

7. The main feature of the reorganised weekly timetable was the re-arrangement of conventional subjects into three major groups: henceforth French and Mathematics between them took up 15 (10 + 5) of the 27 hours on the timetable, 6 hours were devoted to inductive teaching schemes ("activités d'éveil") combining both natural and human sciences, and history and geography on the one hand, and activities offering scope for musical, plastic and manual expression on the other, the entire syllabus being capped by moral and civic education). The remaining 6 hours were spent on physical education and sport (instead of 2 ½ hours as previously). This last point is important, not only on account of the underlying philosophy, but because of the special problems it continues to raise as regards initial and continuing training.

8. This was the first stage in continuing teacher education which was supposed to cater for about 10 per cent of the teaching body between 1969 and 1974. It is very interesting today to re-read the circular dated 5th December 1969 which laid down the underlying principles: we realize that if in 1975 not only the most qualified observers but also the rank-and-file teaching staff considered that the scheme was still just getting under way (25) it was nevertheless time that the objectives, strategies and difficulties to be overcome had been clearly identified and spelled out from the outset by the teaching authorities, if not perceived by the administrative and financial authorities.

9. The circular in question bore the significant title: "Group innovation work and continuing teacher training" ("Animation pédagogique et formation permanente des instituteurs"), the first part dealing with the promotion of innovation, which was regarded as essential and the second part with information and training, the indispensable complements of the first.

The preamble made it quite clear that the subject was connected with the reform of teaching methods, the object of which had been defined by the 1968-69 commissions, the framework being set out in a Decree, dated 7th August 1969 and the spirit outlined in a circular, dated 2nd September 1969: indeed, innovation and training were to be organised in accordance with the new style of teaching that was to be introduced, which modified the traditional balance between the various subject areas and called for both more activity on the part of the children and for more initiative on the part of the teacher.

10. The first concern, therefore, in introducing innovative methods, was to devise suitable structures for promoting and supporting individual initiative, without letting it run loose and for "guiding and supporting a spontaneous collective movement". Each teacher's isolation had to be broken down and a variety of consultations instituted (by school, level, discipline or teaching affinities). It was proposed to provide material for these through group listening to programmes specially designed for this purpose by the school radio and television service ("Radio Télévision Scolaire"), together with supporting literature, as well as by the exchange of practical professional experience. Emphasis was laid on the different types of people involved in the programmes - grouped round the Departmental Inspector who was in charge of the operation - and on the need for a team of group leaders to organise teachers' team work. And teachers were invited to focus their thinking on the practical applications, at the level of each school, - regarded as the basic educational unit - more than on each class.

11. The "Information and training" chapter laid down two principles:

- information must be a two-way flow. The richer source coming up from the roots;
- initial training and continuing training form a whole and the same trainers must be actively involved in the two stages.

The chapter went on to outline the many activities which were organised at national level, and designed to fan out at the level of the rank-and-file teacher and invited the latter to exercise freedom of initiative, by simply asking the regional inspectors to send a brief review twice a year of the activities undertaken.

12. One special point deserves attention, both because it concerns a focal point in continuing education, and because it has been a lasting source of misunderstandings and difficulties in implementing the scheme. We pointed out earlier in this report that sending second-year trainee student-teachers on 3-month training courses made it possible for training colleges to take in an equivalent number of teachers volunteering for re-training.

The first misunderstanding arose in connection with this scheme for returning to school: both trainees and teachers were in tacit agreement over the organisation of courses of a fully academic nature - all the more so as the re-organisation of the school weekly timetable was accompanied by a modernisation of mathematics teaching and there was much talk of a new concept of French teaching. But trainees very quickly became aware of the fact that the traditional method of imparting knowledge no longer satisfied their most pressing needs, as experienced during their practical work. Conversely, when the tutors got together with them for some thinking of a more general character on the direction teaching reform methods should take, the trainees got the impression that they had not derived all they had expected from their stay at the training college.

Many of them were also worried, and even indignant, when they were told that they were being relied on, after their training was over, to act as "group leaders" among their colleagues: being deeply imbued with traditional classroom teaching they considered that this role was an expert one for which they were in no way prepared. And, what is more, they wondered how their potential intervention would be greeted by colleagues who were also deeply ingrained with the traditional hierarchical organisation (Hierarchical intervention has the dual advantage that it is limited in scope and can be challenged without breaching inter-peer solidarity).

13. This first stage was nonetheless a fruitful one despite these disagreements during the initial running-in period. In many places the lack of precision - in part deliberate - of the ministerial instructions was turned to good account. These initiatives made it possible to highlight various aspects of the overall problem, by referring where possible, to experiments already conducted locally for a certain number of years. Thus, in one large Department (grouping 12,000 teachers) as soon as the ministerial circular appeared concerning the "implementation of continuing training" it was found possible to:

- make a wide-ranging review of multi-retraining activities, catering for large numbers of teaching staff, in particular in the field of maths and physical education;
- compare the respective merits of the 3-month training courses (attended by 730 teachers in two years) and the 6-week courses (which made it possible for 790 teachers to be trained in a single year) - with the problem of content raised by the two schemes;
- provide food for thought for a Departmental Team on "Pedagogical reform and innovation" ("Equipe Départementale de Rénovation et d'Animation Pédagogique") which was in fact associated with the administration's decisions;
- organise two 2-day courses, one bringing together 110 teachers and the other 66 group leaders (Inspectors, teachers, training college teachers, educational counsellors) where many of the issues we shall be looking at later were posed in concrete and relevant terms. The two courses focused thinking on the decentralisation of retraining activities (the problem being a serious one in the Department concerned both on account of its population and its elongated shape, the three training colleges now being located in the centre). The primary teachers discussed the priority which they thought should be accorded to the teacher-pupil relationship in preference to the modernisation of curricula. The group leaders were naturally concerned with the question of collaboration between their teaching categories, during the various stages of training, i.e. before,

during and after the training courses: these are some of the questions we will find cropping up again further on in this report.

I.3 Since 1972

14. On 16th July, 1971 four Acts were promulgated as broad in scope as the Act of 12th November, 1968 on the orientation of higher education. The one best known abroad (and probably in France) is designed to fit "the organisation of continuing professional training into the context of continuous education". It has two outstanding features: it gives force of law to an agreement reached, after long drawn-out negotiations, by the employers' and workers' organisations; and it lays down principles which it is worthwhile recalling in this paper by quoting its first two paragraphs:

> "Permanent vocational training constitutes a national obligation. It comprises initial training and later periods of training designed for adults and young people who are already in active life or shortly to be so. These later training periods constitute continuing vocational training."
>
> "Continuing vocational training is part and parcel of life-long education. Its aim is to facilitate the adaptation of workers to changing techniques and working conditions, promote their social advancement by giving them access to different levels of culture and occupational qualification, and foster their contribution to cultural, economic and social development."

This law applied specifically to the public sector (cf. Clauses 41-44), hence in France to teaching staff. The negotiations initiated on this basis between the National Union of Primary Teachers ("Syndicat National des Instituteurs") and the Ministry of National Education culminated on 21st March, 1972 in the publication of a "Declaration on the direction of continuing training for primary school teachers".

15. As pointed out in Section I, this agreement was helped along by circumstances which had no direct connection with the advantages of continuing primary teacher training as such and it is enlightening for anyone interested in the origins of the innovation to analyse them. The combined play of demographic factors and of the reform of school structures had brought about a situation which, in 1972, was reaching breaking point. In France when we want to replace teachers who are temporarily unavailable, we call on auxiliaries whom, by law, we are obliged to establish at the end of four years' service if they prove to be up to the required teaching standard. But they can only become established if vacant posts are available. Now in 1972 there were far more substitute teachers entitled to become established than there were vacancies (in some cases there were not enough posts even for those leaving the training colleges). On the other hand it is certain that primary teachers would volunteer for continuing training courses much more readily if they could leave their classes in the hands of qualified colleagues rather than of untrained auxiliaries. A comparison of these two concerns suggested the solution, which moreover has been set out in a series of texts: to create a new category of "established substitute teachers". This would make it possible to kill two birds with one stone: teachers would be encouraged to take part in continuing training; and a fresh lot of posts would become available which would make it possible for substitute teachers and teachers leaving training colleges to become established: as the posts of the newly established teachers would be created by transforming the jobs of substitute teachers, recruitment of the latter would consequently dry up; and we would therefore no longer see classes, temporarily deprived of their teachers, being taken over by inexperienced beginners. We would thus end up in a few years' time with all future teachers going through a training centre before taking up active duty: this latter feature would in itself represent undoubted progress, but the whole procedure would bring about a major transformation in traditional organisation.

Drawn up in this context, the "Declaration of orientation" of 21st March, 1972" sparked off a process which, in view of all these events (and a few others), can indeed be called revolutionary.

II. THEORY

16. If we were to examine it in the light of public opinion and actual teaching practices in 1976, the Declaration of 21st March, 1972 would present as much interest, on a detailed analysis, as the Circular of 5th December 1969 referred to earlier. It shows surprising coherence for a document which was the outcome of negotiations between partners whose motivations cannot be totally convergent and are not always, on either side, completely homogeneous. But its strict logic, based on constant reference to concrete reality, has not enabled it to enlighten everyone's mind - and even less to influence people's attitudes. Yet the Declaration was very widely circulated, both by the Administration and by a union to which nearly all the teachers belong. This paradox - well known to experts - should prompt politicians to some salutary thinking on the dissemination of ideas, even when these are already fairly widespread. And we could no doubt draw some useful conclusions from it regarding the management of innovation.

17. The Declaration is presented expressly for what it is: the outcome of negotiations which have enabled the Ministry and the union concerned to determine jointly the orientations "which must determine the organisation of continuing teacher training".

These orientations flow from two general ideas: the school is being transformed, and teacher training comes under the same bracket as adult education; the coherence between these ideas is ensured by the concept of life-long education. The role of the school (primary or pre-primary) is changing: it is different owing to the existence of the "parallel educational system" (the media) and is more important since it has to contribute to equality of opportunity. The teacher's "function" will change accordingly, and this is what justifies life-long training which is conceived as a whole, and grafts "continuing training activities" on to initial training, the former being determined in accordance with job requirements. These requirements call for practical training - which does not mean training of an empirical nature but the sort which integrates rather than alternates theory and practices, and is aimed at personal development conceived of by the educator as an essential component of professional training.

For this reason, and also because the necessary transformations concern the whole of the primary and pre-primary school, in-service training must be aimed at the collective advancement of the teaching body rather than at the over-qualification of a few specialists. By developing in all teachers an ability to cope with the constant adjustments required by social change, continued training will become a driving force in a policy for the innovation and development of the educational system.

18. The fragmentary retraining courses of the 1972 period are therefore to be followed by an all-embracing system, rationally co-ordinating existing and projected facilities - in accordance with well-determined objectives and under the control of the effects of the activities undertaken. This machinery is to be devised on the basis of an inventory of methods already employed and of an analysis of the reasons why they have produced limited results: this will determine the conditions which must be fulfilled if the system is to work properly.

19. If we were to omit the practical references used to illustrate this summary it might well give the impression of being a purely intellectual exercise setting forth in a plausible order some fairly widely held ideas. The Declaration nevertheless constituted the theoretical basis - jointly endorsed by the relevant professional organisation and

the political authorities - of an implementing plan set out in a ministerial circular dated 20th June, 1972.

III. FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

III.1 The texts

20. The continuing teacher-training plan, says that circular, "is to give every practicing teacher a full-time training entitlement equivalent to one school year, spread over his or her career, with the exception of the first and last five years".

One school year is 36 weeks. A teacher's career lasts on average 36 years. The training entitlement therefore amounts to one week a year (and therefore implies an intake of approximately 30 per cent of the staff numbers involved to replace teachers undergoing training). The problem then is how to phase this entitlement "flexibly", in length and nature, so as to adapt more effectively to diverse and changing needs over a period of some 25 years.

21. The authorities gave themselves six years in which to provide "a first course of further training" for all the teachers concerned (who had left their primary training college more than 5 years previously and were under 50 years of age). Each Department (the territorial unit as regards primary teacher management) was to draw up its training scheme in co-operation with its jointly representative bodies (the Technical Committee, consulted on matters of teaching organisation, and Administrative Commission, consulted on measures affecting teachers' careers). The ministerial circular merely outlined the principles to be adopted (in the spirit of the Declaration of 21st March, 1972) and put forward a few suggestions - indicative and not obligatory in character: legislation was to retain all the flexibility necessary for local adaptation and for possible "original initiatives"; and by decentralising the implementing of decisions as much as possible it was hoped to approximate to the ideal state of affairs where continuing training would really be for everyone.

III.2 Practice

22. The scheme therefore began to be implemented in the school-year 1972-73. Interest was naturally drawn to what was really new in it, i.e. the training courses offered to practising teachers enabling them to be replaced in the schoolroom at such a rate which ensured that all the teachers concerned could attend the courses before 1978.

Two kinds of schemes now existed side-by-side:

- those in which, since 1969, teachers undergoing training had been replaced in their classrooms by student-teachers in their second year of professional training (roughly 7,500 a year being available for one term);
- those where teachers undergoing training were replaced by substitute teachers (and with effect from the following financial year, by established teachers, whose numbers rose from 2,200 to 4,500 between 1973 and 1976.

The two types of training course took place at primary teacher training college which had no difficulty in finding room and providing facilities for the first group, but experienced some difficulty as regards the second, owing to the return of the student-teachers.

Although in 1969 it was expected that one student-teacher would be able to replace two teachers one after the other who would thus each be free to attend a 6-week re-training course, this arrangement was not generally adopted and the two sets of training courses also differed as regards their duration in principle: i.e. three months for the first and six weeks for the second.

23. But these arrangements had no statutory backing: on the contrary a circular dated 18th October, 1972 reminded "departmental" authorities that it was for them to choose among the various ways of organising the courses, in accordance with the priorities they had laid down and after gauging "their responsibilities in estimating the facilities to be used. Those who, for perfectly understandable reasons, opted unreservedly for the general adoption of 3-month training courses, would have to accept two substantial consequences: on the one hand, teachers would be entitled only to a period of full-time training once every nine years, as the training entitlement was limited to 36 weeks for the whole of a teaching career; on the other hand as replacement posts were limited in number, to extend the length of training courses was tantamount to cutting down the number of people who could take advantage of them over a given period." Conversely, it also reminded them that there was nothing to prevent them from splitting up the 3-month or 6-week courses so as to "implement the principle of alternating work with training and to offer shorter courses to teachers who would be inconvenienced by too long an absence from their family and job".

24. These considerations are based on plain common sense and are, in addition, very varied. They deserve a mention here, however, on account of the spirit behind them which represents something of a departure from the usual stereotyped pattern of French centralisation: on the contrary they signify a determination to indicate possible ways of tackling problems rather than to issue instructions to be complied with, or ready-made solutions. This fairly new type of liberalism has inevitably nonplussed certain people.

Other people, on the other hand saw it as one of those "moments of liberty which are exceptional in our administration but which could set a precedent in a perspective of change in which control and management would gradually give way to group advisory work and innovative guidance".

In any event, the decision to leave broad areas of responsibility for conception, decision and organisation to the "departmental" level is fully in line with the conviction that continuous training (of teachers in particular) only makes sense in the context of "an individual effort at self-improvement" just as it does in the case of the "assisted self-training" teaching currently advocated for the classroom. Pedagogical innovation pre-supposes administrative innovation.

But, as was only to be expected, the variety of methods adopted in the field today defies evaluation or synthesis. And in the thoughts set out in the following paragraphs we prefer to outline the history of the introduction of this innovation in a Department as recounted in an official local publication (26) by the person responsible.

III.3 Application in the field

25. Although solutions have varied and are changing in character the major issue as far as the organisers were concerned was the same everywhere - as it is, moreover, whenever an operation to be planned requires the consent of the participants. The problem was how to ensure convincing coherence among stated objectives, proposed strategies and the results obtained. The discussions held by the departmental authorities responsible for drawing up the plans largely centred on how to achieve this coherence.

The first step, naturally, was to define the objectives. But at the very beginning the authorities came up against an unavoidable contradiction. They wanted to ensure the best use of facilities, in a matter where everyone was aware of the full implications, but one of the fundamental principles governing adult teaching is that goals must not be set in advance:

"Any teacher training operation", the circular of 20th June, 1972 had reiterated, "must be linked to an analysis of the latters' requirements. It will therefore have to include machinery for formulating demand, and identifying needs, and also provide for

consultation between trainers and the teachers to be trained on objectives and programmes".

26. This applies at two levels: that of the population concerned (whose wishes and needs can be ascertained by more or less sophisticated survey techniques), and that of trainees who are just starting training. They are two quite different things, the first having a realistic, statistical basis, and the second a functional, emotional and pedagogical value, the aim in the latter case being to get the trainees to co-operate in their own training, and to guide their trainers' activity in such a way as to satisfy as far as possible their real needs.

"The published texts", the circular of 18th October, 1972 also stated, "provide for an essential link between training and the requirements of those for whom it is designed. In this area, as well, there are still a number of ambiguities and some confusion seems to have arisen already. There can be no question of asking trainers to comply with strictly unforeseeable requests at a moment's notice. It is no doubt necessary to reiterate that explicit requests and real requirements are not the same thing and that the latter are not necessarily expressed in the former. Requirements are ascertained by various and diverse methods and should be the subject of long-term studies.

That is why it seems a good thing to envisage that this task should be performed by "Departmental" teams.

In training operations, the concern with adapting training to requirements in a practical way has two significant consequences at operational level:

- each training period ought to reserve a certain amount of time for people to become aware of, and express, however imperfectly, the needs which training must satisfy. Besides, there is nothing to prevent this period from being scheduled well in advance of the training itself;
- this study of requirements must be made with the active involvement of the people concerned, and be carried out as near as possible to the working environment. For this reason the "Departmental" inspectors of National Education (I.D.E.N.) have been assigned special responsibility in this field.

The study must facilitate a dialogue between trainees and trainers aimed at the convergence of the requests as they are put forward by the former and the proposals as they are adapted to the requests by the latter.

27. This was very well put. But in practice these procedures which were intended to help formulate demand and negotiate its content at the beginning of the training period merely led to confusion and malaise among both the trainee and trainer participants. Many teachers, especially during the first sessions, when discussions were sometimes improvised, were under the impression that nobody knew where they were and that they were all wasting their time. And many professors from the teacher training colleges regretted wasting hours on discussions which bore little fruit, when they could have been giving lessons which in their view were much more necessary. Nor was there any question of organising sessions which were intended to respond to an unformulated and inconsistent demand, and still less of evaluating the first effects of an operation which people were very impatient to convince themselves was well and truly on the right path. It was only gradually realized to a greater or lesser degree, depending on places, that these exploratory steps had certain fruitful implications. It was in a way organically necessary to rediscover through actual experience what had already been set out, in a retrospectively clear and coherent way in the texts analysed above, i.e. the circular of 5th December, 1969, the "Declaration of orientation" of 21st March, 1972 and the circulars of 20th June and 18th October, 1972. And it is this dynamic process of expressing needs, and of making a continuous evaluation, which in the long run constitutes the driving force and possibly the major benefit of continuing training. We get this impression when we compare the changes of opinion that emerge from surveys such as those carried out in 1972-73 (27) and then in 1974 (28) at national level. But it is even more

apparent from the "Departmental" experience outlined above, involving the gradual institution of genuine "continuous monitoring and organisation" machinery. In the following paragraphs we have quoted large excerpts from the contribution made in connection with this setting up process by the regional ("Académie") inspector, under a title which is a programme in itself viz: "Administration and Innovation".

28. After reminding readers that "what was new" in continuing training in 1972 was the triple continuity of pedagogical reform, of a primary teaching career which could now "alternate periods of active service with periods of training" and finally of the "experience gained by primary teacher training colleges in initial training and also in the teachers' training assignments during when they are replaced by student-teachers during the 3-month training under tutors"(29) the author goes on:

"This experiment could be a trap, whatever its value and quality. Indeed, one of the essential rules of adult teaching is that it must be based on the needs adults express. The first consequence of this is that an effort must be made to identify these needs as exactly as possible, for between expressed demand and real need, as gradually formulated during the training process, there may be some discrepancy. Thus we sometimes go into a shop intending to buy a certain article and come out having bought something quite different but which gives us much greater satisfaction. The second consequence is that the training of adults is an extremely delicate matter and if it takes place in a school setting it can give rise to many difficulties, and latent or open conflicts. The relationship can no longer be that of a knowledgeable vis-a-vis an ignorant person or of a superior towards an inferior. It must develop on the basis of a dialogue, involve the trainee's active participation in his training and lead him to be his own "self-educator". The relationship then takes on the form of a contract.

But even when these rules and their consequences are well known their application is by no means an easy matter. For we were catering for the needs of teachers who were unknown quantities since they were the future trainees. And needs can be analysed at several levels. They are certainly individual but also be collective, i.e. the needs of groups undergoing training. It was very clear that account had to be taken of the teachers' experience just as much as that of the trainers, that demand had to proceed from the former to the latter and that a joint effort would then have to be made to reach an acceptable solution.

I then discussed with my colleagues the plan for consulting teachers during a training course. The idea began to take shape. A number of people would take part, some of them would act as controls. The course would be organised primarily to promote free expression through the use of group techniques and a closed television circuit. Participants would be selected preferably from among primary teachers who had already attended a 3-month training course. The idea was subsequently put into practice. Discussions were sometimes difficult, but sincere. Eighty men and women teachers attended. I heard them express two basic needs:

- the need for bringing the teaching policy advocated by the inspectors into line with that of the training college teachers;
- the need to bring the courses closer to the trainees, hence to distribute the training centres geographically.

These issues continued to be given serious thought during a second training course which this time involved teaching training college teachers, their principals and the "Departmental" inspectors. We confined ourselves to giving them a written and verbal account of the teachers' training course and soon managed to smooth the ruffled feelings which sometimes resulted from an occasional criticism levelled at the trainers. We then got down to seeking solutions to the issues raised. It is from the model constructed on the basis of the experiences of all concerned which were compared and adjusted, that the organisation of continuing training for the school year 1972-73 was derived, and this was readopted for the most part in 1973-74 and 1974-75.

III.4 Continuous monitoring and organisation

Since the beginning of the school year 1972-73 three external training centres have been in operation. Each is attached to a training college. The "Departmental" inspectors lend their assistance as trainers. Joint Inspectors and training college teachers teams are being formed both at training colleges and at external training centres. They enlist the help of educational counsellors and primary teachers acting as group leaders: the latter help to run the pedagogical and administrative side of the courses. We ought not to minimise or gloss over the difficulties which have had to be overcome every day. Indeed, having to go out to the external centres is a new function of training college teachers which could legitimately pose problems of service and status. Such activity goes beyond the bounds of their normal obligations, and dealing with adults necessitates a change in teaching methods. But for the "Departmental" inspectors large-scale participation in training activities also poses problems of timetabling and disorganises their traditional round of duties. Finally, from the administrative aspect i.e. the management of facilities, the setting up of the centres, their equipment and operation, a great deal of effort was required in a context for which for a very good reason - no statutory provision had been made.

However, the way in which in-service training is conducted in the training colleges and in the external centres has come up to expectations:

- the geographical dispersal of the centres makes matters easier for teachers located in the most remote areas, where there are young people and also the largest number of former substitute primary teachers. This is psychologically a very significant move.
- the understanding between the Inspectors, the teaching college teachers is good; it is moving towards a complementarity of professional viewpoints, the two bodies having to deal simultaneously with teachers who, when they are undergoing training, resort to the help of both parties.

Systematic attempts are made to analyse the progress made in order to improve and refine the methods used. To begin with, each group of 15 to 20 trainees;

- helps to compile an inventory of requirements at the beginning of the course;
- makes an assessment of results obtained at the end of the course. The assessments are then collected and handed over to one working group:
  - per teachers training college
  - then at "Departmental" level.

True, in replies to the surveys there were many criticisms on this point. But we must not jump to conclusions! The exercise is a new one and neither the "self-educators" nor the trainers have much experience of it. Not only does it bring intellectual factors into play, but also involves the personality of all concerned. The exercise is a strenuous one: let the people most critical of it engage in it - sincerely and lucidly - with their own students... The second level at which monitoring is done is that of consultation with the "Comité Technique Paritaire" (joint technical committee whose membership is drawn equally from both sides). This consultation is prepared by a working group made up of trainers' and teachers' representatives; its composition is flexible and not determined by category. Its function is to analyse the information collected on the running of the training assignments (stages) and to draw up proposals:

- for the short, specialised third term training courses (topics, dates, number of participants, places);
- for the 6-week and 3-month training courses to be held in the following school year (major topics, frequency, organisation, possible experiments).

The outline thus drawn up serves as a basis of discussion in the "Comité Technique Paritaire" (C.T.P.) which meets in February. It is essential for the C.T.P. to be consulted: not only to comply with the procedure laid down in ministerial instructions

but above all to observe the contractual spirit which must govern any continuing training activity. A third monitoring level consists of general thinking about the various aspects of continuing training. Such thinking can take on various forms: it can be spontaneous or "uninhibited" and be done in the course of individual exchanges and in small groups; it is more systematic when it results from issues raised in the "Commission Administrative Paritaire" and the "Comité Technique Paritaire" which afford an opportunity of asking oneself questions about this or that aspect of continuing education; it is more official during interviews with teachers' union representatives, and more organised when such thinking is prepared, formulated and conducted during a training course such as the one held at the regional Centre of pedagogical documentation (CRDP) on 8th and 9th March, 1974, under the "Departmental" team for "Pedagogical reform and innovation". Let us merely note here that in a small space of time training has become a permanent dimension in our thinking and in that of the teachers, their representatives, and the administration. I see this very issue of "Nord-Pédagogie" as an element of a continuous, open and, as it were, public "debate".

Finally, one wonders whether the real basic innovation is not this very debate, this continuous process of thinking about problems collectively, involving all the personnel concerned - by means of a publication - in the continuous negotiations onducted with the administration by their representatives, in accordance with a deliberately experimental [illegible]eption of a "concerted" administration, advancing by means of assumptions, evaluations, reviews, fresh assumptions and so forth on cybernetic lines.

29. It was preferable not to break the unity of this account of events even at the cost of repetition or obscurity. It draws attention to two categories of problems encountered almost everywhere regarding the organisation of the training courses themselves: their scheduling in space and time and their pedagogical organisation, which is linked to their recruitment.

30. Although the courses for which teachers are replaced in the classroom by student-teachers ought normally to be held at primary teacher training college, the demand for decentralised training makes it possible for trainees to attend courses nearer to the school where they are teaching. They also have the advantage or creating durable working relations between teachers from neighbouring schools. Resistance to this method comes mainly from teacher training college teachers, whose normal working arrangements only comprise a few, short periods of extra-mural teaching. The latter also point out, quite rightly, that the external courses do not have the advantage of being able to draw on the college's resources, i.e. the library, laboratories and audio-visual equipment. But it is a fact that in a "Department" where teacher training colleges are not centrally located, for example, attendance is sometimes very uneven, as the remoter areas show scant interest.

31. The length of the courses comes in for a good deal of criticism. It is no doubt more convenient for trainees not to be away too long from their school and from their home. The question whether the 3-month course is pedagogically more effective than the 6-week one is a matter of some controversy.

A well-organised 6-week course does not contain any slack periods and has a strikingly "vigorous and lively style". To derive any benefit from group life, three months is a very short time nor is it long enough to remedy the shortcomings of deficient initial training or to update one's knowledge effectively: some people go as far as to advocate a full year's course (for those who need it) - without perhaps realizing that this would use up a teacher's training entitlement in one go. Conversely, there is beginning to be a strong tendency in favour of splitting up the 3-month or 6-week courses into several periods, broken by spells of teaching back in school, so as to forge a closer link between theory and practice.(30)

32. Two examples will serve to show the extent to which it is possible to depart from the basic theoretical pattern.

In rural areas, teachers often show a preference for short, intermittent courses. One inspector, convinced that this arrangement had more advantages than drawbacks when it had the blessing of the trainees, undertook to draw the inferences from it. Together with the teacher training college teachers he devised a plan whereby the 6-week training course is broken down into three 2-week courses spread over three years. Each course is focussed on two major disciplines: maths and music, French and drawing, introduction to science and physical training. In the first year three groups of trainees each tackle one of the combinations, and at the end of three years each of them has explored all three of them. The means employed are the same as if a 6-week training course had been organised every year with the end result that three times as many teachers have remained in contact with each other and with the training college for three years. At the end of the first series of courses the person who launched the experiment considers the result to be very positive.

33. The other formula is quite different. It stems partly, however, from the same initial thinking regarding the best use of resources, i.e. in-service education entitlement and the available quota of mobile established teachers. Instead of a teacher being released for a 6-week training course, he can be released one day a week throughout a full school year. Futhermore, it has been demonstrated in practice that it is not possible to run more than 6-week courses a year and that, consequently, a mobile established teacher could only replace four teachers in succession in any one school year. Four mobile established teachers are therefore assigned for the year to a group of 16 teachers and release four of them every day for continuing training activities (i.e. on Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays as there is no school on Wednesday). Saturday morning is devoted to the coordination of classroom work between each mobile established teacher and the four teachers he is replacing - (which avoids disorganising schools whose teachers are undergoing training). This arrangement is valid for schools that are in fairly close proximity to the teacher training college so that the teachers from the latter can come and work with the teachers so released at their normal place of work. Thus it is possible to adapt training closely to the solution of specific daily problems arising in the profession, to influence the teaching of a whole school rather than teachers in isolation, and, finally, to enable the teacher training teachers to take stock on the spot of the impact their activity is having.

34. We see here how administration and teaching are inter-connected, especially if one is concerned with the effects of training on teaching practice. The updating of knowledge is not neglected, however, as the training college teachers are involved in both cases (with the assistance of the Inspectors and of its advisers, in particular for physical education). An attempt is simply made to get as far away as possible from formal lectures, which put the trainee-teacher back on the pupil's bench; his training consists above all of studying - with expert assistance - the problems encountered in daily teaching practice. These may arise in connection with subject matter - in that case the teacher training college teacher acts as a specialist in a given discipline and in its teaching. But they can be of another kind and concern in particular the personal relations between teacher and pupils, or among the pupils themselves: the action required will be different and may take on different forms.

35. The same desire to be realistic and efficient leads the authorities to send teachers for training in teams when they can, rather than on an individual basis. Indeed, we know that when a "trained" teacher goes back to an unchanged environment this provokes defensive reactions against the disturbing element in question. More often than not instead of giving his colleagues the benefit of the knowledge he has acquired it is he who gives it up, not without a feeling of frustration which rebounds on the training

itself. If he resists, he introduces a discordant note into the school which may put the children, who are subject to different treatment by different teachers, off their stride. This is particularly noticeable in a period when basic subjects like French and mathematics are undergoing radical changes. One way of overcoming this drawback is to devise training programmes - in one subject and for a group of schools - over a three-year period; in the first year training will be given to teachers from the first level, in the second year to those of the next level and in the third to those of the last level (primary schooling is traditionally divided into three stages - preparatory, elementary and intermediate.

36. The training courses given at the teacher training college (or in close liaison with it) are of course the most striking feature of the new in-service education programme. But it is naturally desirable that they should be a means whereby trainees continue to work together, no matter whether the latter belong to the same schools or not. One of the means of doing this is to let the trainees form their own teams beforehand. In this way teachers have been seen to co-opt each other and subsequently, at the teacher training college, to take charge of the entire teaching organisation of their 6-week training course, in accordance with the goals they had laid down together, and by arrangement with the teacher training college staff. This training formula is manifestly in line with a conception of teaching which is also valid for the classroom, and which, as far as possible, involves the children themselves in the co-operative organisation of their school work.(31)

37. In a more general way the experiment conducted over the last three years has shown that organisation - in teacher training just as in school life - cannot be divorced from teaching. The question of training courses cannot therefore be considered in isolation. This was very soon realized by almost everybody but no practical inferences were drawn from it.

38. The training courses undoubtedly constitute an important, irreplaceable element in all in-service education - provided their purpose is clearly grasped. As they bring together volunteers they make it possible to fulfil at one and the same time three basic conditions governing in-depth training: the personal commitment of each person involved, a dialogue with other people in a culturally rich environment and the undertaking of a collective task. Sharing experiences and living as a group enables each person to realise the ability he has to solve his problems and hence to learn and make progress. The trainees carry out an experiment in autonomy during the course in the very midst of their activity as a group. Together they develop their capacity to adapt to change through a methodical and exonerating criticism of their previous ways of doing things. They become aware once more of their personal creative ability to tackle new tasks, whether these be intellectual, physical or aesthetic. And, by being pupils in their turn, they experience the new teaching relationship which they are asked to introduce into their classroom. In this way they become aware of the possibilities and rewards of an educational process in which self-training, team work and the contribution made by trainers (of teachers or of children) no longer seem to conflict with, but to complement each other - provided that they are based on genuinely felt and expressed needs.

39. However, for all the benefit to be derived from these privileged moments, two kinds of precautions need to be taken. In the first place the courses themselves must be organised in such a way that in practice they do not run counter to the declared objectives: and to do this care must be taken to remove from them everything which can be done just as effectively by other means. They must also be carefully inserted into a framework of dual continuity as regards duration and institutional networks.

IV. ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE THE INITIAL PLAN

40. The plan launched in 1972-73 for the in-service education and training of all primary teachers did not mean discontinuing or re-organising the wide range of earlier activities. One problem at the present time is in fact to weld all these activities into a coherent system likely to make the most effective use of the facilities available.

An exhaustive inventory would be difficult to compile and would merely illustrate the elasticity of the INSET concept. We need do no more than quote a few types of activity with a view to their possible integration into the general scheme.

Practical specialisation courses:

41. These are very legitimately intended to help primary teachers to qualify for other and better paid functions i.e. in schools for handicapped children or in the first cycle of secondary education. Although these courses normally fall within context of the opportunities offered by continuous training to teachers as to all other workers, they are on the fringes of a scheme which is by definition designed to improve the collective position of those who remain in their posts and is not intended to skim off the best or provide an escape route for the more enterprising.

Readaptation activities (32)

42. These are organised for the benefit of primary teachers who are temporarily absent from their posts for reasons of health, i.e., particularly nervous breakdowns. This is a genuine in-service training course the need for which may well serve as a warning, for the percentage of teachers concerned has shown a significant and even alarming increase. Prevention is better than cure and any experiments with treatment suitable for the disorders which the patients themselves associate with their teaching problems may well suggest types of preventive action which can be made part of the initial and further training of teachers. Teaching procedures designed to achieve successful communication do not have to be reserved only for teachers who have had breakdowns.

Refresher courses

43. These are conducted on various scales and particularly on the initiative of the regional Centres of pedagogical documentation (Centres Régionaux de Documentation pédagogique). By 1972 they already covered a range of disciplines (particularly mathematics and artistic subjects) or techniques (particularly audio-visual) and all were naturally designed to be integrated into the 1972 plan. We shall revert to the problems arising from the introduction of audio-visual media into teaching and teacher training (for primary and other teachers). The courses concerned were largely intended to teach practitioners how to use teaching equipment. But it is essential to go further. Audio-visual media are a tool not only for teaching but for teacher training. It is essential to teach school children (but first their teachers) to manipulate the apparatus, produce messages and documents, read the pictures as one reads writings, judiciously sort the information produced and train the childrens' taste in audio-visual productions as in any other art. The teachers must also be absolutely proficient in the didactic use of audio-visual aids. The part played in their own collective and individual training by the use of these media is bound to increase.

The "Centre National du Télé-enseignement" (National Centre for tele-teaching - C.N.T.E.)

44. Within the limits of its capacity this Centre has since 1962 offered various categories of teachers including primary teachers inexpensive correspondence courses for further training or retraining. They have initiated the primary teachers concerned into modern mathematics and, since 1973, "into ways of integrating art teaching (plastic arts) with the primary school curriculum". This latter venture is interesting for its overall outlook which may be illustrated by the technical schedule reproduced on the following page.

The care taken to ensure a dialogue between trainers and trainees will be noted. However substantial and assimilable it may be, any one-way flow of information is purposeless. The groups which it is hoped to set up are based on this idea. They should of course operate from the teacher training colleges which should file all written documents or supporting audio-visual data for subsequent use.

45. These remarks also apply to the Ateliers de Pédagogie de la Radio-Télévision Scolaire - R.T.S. (Pedagogical Workshops of the Radio and television educational Broadcasting) which is an operation on a totally different scale.

The idea, particularly after 1969-70, was to give some 300,000 teachers from primary and pre-primary school urgent information on the renovation of disciplines and teaching generally. The broadcasts to teachers (two hours on the television and one hour on the radio per week) were designed to be seen or heard for themselves or be used as a support for school broadcasts. The latter were of two kinds. Some (i.e., biology and geography) were largely documentary and they were generally welcomed as teachers could turn them to good account with only a little assistance. Others presented significant teaching situations designed, with or without commentary, to challenge traditional pupil-teacher relationships. The Ateliers de Pédagogie (Pedagogical Workshops) then helped to meet the trainees' reactions. Objectives were explained, underlying intentions were illustrated, and the way was paved for collective thinking and exchanges between users and also for exchanges between "consumers" and "producers". The project was an important one as the intention was to bring home the need for change but at the same time to raise the threshold of tolerance as regards insecurity.

46. This objective called for group watching followed by a debate, preferably with the support of the Inspectors and teacher training college teachers. Timetables were readjusted as far as possible although it was not always possible to find a place for the broadcasts in the timetable. Despite this effort (and official recommendations) the broadcasts were practically never utilised in a discussion group. Certain series were watched by quite a high percentage of people (up to 35 per cent of the potential public) but these were made up of private individuals, each in front of his own set.

47. This first setback was aggravated by a second one. The reactions of the users show that they were more likely to judge than to analyse and that they saw the experiment as a model to imitate or reject rather than as a document to be exploited. To convince the teachers that the proposed innovations were approved by the authorities certain broadcasts included panels of inspectors or experts but the most pronounced effect was to encourage either submissive acceptance or outright rejection. In a word, it was obvious that when the broadcasts were received by single individuals, the data they provided had no lasting impact and that the teaching was hardly more effective when filmed than it would have been in the form of a lecture. Preliminary training was clearly necessary. And the broadcasts were no more effective than a book purporting to teach reading to an illiterate.

48. Hopes of finding a solution were aroused in 1972 by the coincidence of two factors, i.e., the plan for in-service education and the gradual equipment of teacher training colleges with closed-circuit television. At the present time 80 per cent of teacher

TECHNICAL SCHEDULE

INTENDED FOR

Teachers in primary schools wishing to meet the requirements of the "organised day" and use the resources of artistic expression in their teaching.

OBJECTIVES AND STRUCTURES

The initiation takes two years.

In the FIRST YEAR contact is made with the problems of plastic expression and the "course", consisting of six dossiers, is intended not only for TEACHERS but also for PRIVATE STUDENTS. Its object is to induce discovery and awareness, reveal a new language, demonstrate its utility, trace its ramifications, review contemporary artistic activity and facilitate a global, inter-disciplinary approach which will be developed and utilised all through the second year.

As nothing can replace genuine experience teachers are asked to do personal research. They have the opportunity of working in class WITH their pupils, with immediate repercussions in their daily task and of taking part in regional working groups.

The SECOND YEAR course comprises six dossiers which integrate theory and practice and provide a means of exploiting the teaching approaches discovered during the first year. The dossiers are therefore primarily intended for teachers since they are asked to do their planning and perforce their teaching and experimenting WITH THEIR PUPILS, and in conjunction with regional working groups.

RESULT DOSSIERS

Teachers are expected to submit a "dossier-echo" or dossier of the results of the proposals for experiment and research made in the C.N.T.E. dossiers.

The contents of a result dossier vary with the work done and may comprise, amongst other data:

- short accounts of different approaches and ensuing criticisms;
- replies to question;
- the teacher's observation of himself and his pupils (behaviour, approaches adopted, conclusions suggested, etc.);
- documents illustrating approaches adopted (photographs of work completed or in hand; sketches; any work done by pupils which can be used as an illustration);
- cassette recording, etc.

RELATION WITH THE TRAINING TEAM

A study of these result dossiers will enable the members of the training team to give advice and make useful and friendly suggestions.

The first dossiers will be dispatched at the beginning of the school year and the subsequent ones will be phased to enable each teacher to organise his work in the light of the available facilities.

SUPPORTING ACTION

Regional meetings or groups may be organised whenever the circumstances permit.

A - FORMATION OF GROUPS

The purpose is to support the correspondence training project by direct contact designed to stimulate action, remove blockages, broaden and enrich the process and facilitate the formation of regional or local teams for research or work.

Their content will vary according to requirements, i.e. joint discussion of work, showing of slides based on work done, discussion, experiment and training for group leadership.

training colleges are so equipped. By 1973 this operation was developing at such a rate and in such disorder that the Ministry set up a "committee to co-ordinate action to teach teacher training college staff to use audio-visual techniques" (in actual fact the committees' functions went beyond the scope of teacher training and included the standardization of equipment, the development of techniques, the provision of information and the organisation of research into their use in schools). Once teacher training colleges which are the focal points of initial and further training for primary school teachers are provided with closed-circuit television and personnel able to use it, the question arises of linking this medium with the national television network.(33)

49. By its nature closed circuit television is primarily a training medium. It will be used to enable needs to be more easily expressed and to help demand to mature through group watching. It will develop an ability for self evaluation through individual watching in conjunction with micro-teaching and help trainees to concentrate on documents which give them greater incentives than others. It will also enable them to analyse their fellow trainees and will be a source of support to the trainers.

50. But other uses can be envisaged in conjunction with the national network. Closed circuit television can record national broadcasts for collective use as teaching from live broadcasts is difficult. Conversely, and although programmes filmed for closed-circuit television are subject to different criteria from documentaries intended for the general public, it is quite conceivable that national video libraries may be enriched by local production. A methodical use may also be made of closed-circuit television to show students training to be primary teachers, how to use the school broadcasting facilities not only for their own information but for classroom purposes.

51. In any event a rich collection of supporting facilities now exists together with sufficient thought and experience to guide its use. But what is still required is a general scheme of future training in which this thought and experience can be integrated, with some idea as to the role of educational technology in modernising the educational system. This overall approach is the only way to co-ordinate open and closed-circuit television by successive adjustments and to create a regulating mechanism between users and producers not only by direct contact but also institutionally i.e. through programming boards.

52. Physical training and sport present a problem which in many respects is similar to one discussed above. Although the official timetable has devoted six hours per week to this discipline since 1969 it has paradoxically continued to be on the fringes of education. A compulsory discipline, for which the teacher is responsible in the same way as all the other disciplines, physical training and sport is similar to school broadcasting facilities in the sense that it is practised only by those to have a taste for it. It is true that like school broadcasting it falls under the control of an authority outside the education system. Seen through French eyes, physical training has more in common with sport than schoolwork and is under the joint tutelage of the Ministry of Education and an independent secretariat of state. And just as the school broadcasting scheme is on the borderline between the school world and the world of the media, physical training and sport is poised between schooltime and leisure time. As a result its development, even in primary schools, largely depends on a hybrid body i.e. the Union Sportive de l'Enseignement Primaire (U.S.E.P.) which is a private association with the responsibilities of a public service.

53. The sudden extension in 1969 of a timetable which was already only partly adhered to naturally brought home the urgency of a large-scale retraining of existing staff. The "Services de la Jeunesse et des Sports" and the USEP set about this task as far as their slender resources permitted. But the modesty of their contribution confirmed the status of physical training and sport as a minor discipline in the eyes of many observers. It was not until 1975 that a Ministry of Education circular officially recognised physical

training as a discipline suitable for incorporation as a major subject into the practical 6-seminar courses organised in teacher training colleges. As the circular stated, the introduction of this discipline was in no way intended to supersede the practical courses organised by the "Service de la Jeunesse et des Sports" or by the USEP. Finally, however, nobody is absolutely sure whether or not the Ministry intends these practical courses to be included in the general scheme for the continuing training of primary school teachers.

Like school television the incorporation of this discipline depends on a policy decision which is still pending. The educational implications of the period allotted to physical training in the official timetable have still not been spelled out as the two ministries concerned are unable to agree on the instructions they are expected to publish.

54. Any attempts at co-ordination depend on the same basic problem i.e. the direction and scope of the much-heralded modernisation of the educational system. Is the essential aim to make traditional types of teaching more efficient? Is it planned to broaden the functions of the educational system and open it up by removing the barriers between the school curriculum and peripheral studies? Is it intended to give up a traditionally defensive attitude and co-operate with the different types of media outside the school system? The answer to these questions will show whether or not the scheme for in-service education (and initial training) is likely to include contributions from comparatively autonomous bodies i.e., educational or socio-cultural movements "auxiliary to the educational system" (of which the USEP is only one example), or OFRATEME (Office Français des Techniques Modernes d'Education - French Office for modern techniques in education) on which the school broadcasting system depends, or the Department for Research and Study of the National Institute for educational research and documentation (I.N.R.D.P.).

V. SCHEMES FOR CO-ORDINATION

55. The foregoing inventory is designed to give an idea of the variety of resources which would have to be incorporated, in various degrees, into the general scheme of life-long training (initial and further) for primary school teachers. Some might be introduced as a supplement to the practical courses relieving the latter of tasks which would be carried out through other channels. Others might be incorporated for specific purposes in the 3-month or 6-week practical courses. For example, a judicious use of closed-circuit television for groups might, as we have already pointed out, help to give expression to demand, an audio-visual document might foster joint thinking about a problem and the production of such a document or an initiation into the handling of equipment might have a useful habit-breaking effect at the beginning of a practical course (like all activities which are different from everyday professional duties without being completely foreign to them). In the same way physical activities concerned with relaxation or self expression will help to remove personal inhibitions and give the group a life of its own. Needless to say these accessory training media will be used all the more readily if they are also seen as training objectives, because they can be turned to practical use in the classroom.

56. This point brings us to an essential idea which has invariably been confirmed by experience. These practical courses which were hailed as a new and basically revolutionary development are not fully effective unless they relate directly to the day-to-day tasks of teachers and the requirements of the educational system as a whole. If they relate to what has preceded and shaped them they can build on the actual experience of the teachers and afford them a suitable response to their real requirements. If they relate to what follows, their contribution can be of lasting value but only if it is reinvested in practice, but this calls for tolerance from the environment. These are commonplace considerations which are familiar to any specialist in adult training. But the first trainees and their makeshift trainers sensed the truth of this even more than they understood it

intellectually. Some reacted with irritation or mockery and others with dismay or anxiety but all realised from practical experience that "groups innovation work and continuing training of primary school teachers" (to quote from the title of the circular of 5th December, 1969) were inseparable from one another.

V.1 Group innovation work in education and in-service education and training of primary school teachers

V.1. i) The ambiguity of the concept of group innovation work ("animation")

57. The concept of group innovation work in education ("animation pédagogique") is complex and ambiguous.(34) Its popularity largely dates back to 1968 when innovation counsellors of every kind began to proliferate in response to the general feeling that it was essential to free not only the community as a whole but also the education system from its blockages. Educational innovation is more or less based on a non-therapeutic use of inductive methods, indirect teaching, indirect aid, and group dynamics. It has also been associated since 1971 with the approach adopted by the "animateurs de formation" whose function is to detect or foster the demand for training requirements and who bring those who need training into contact with those who supply it.(35) This was the development to which the circular of 5th December, 1969 referred when alluding to "organised arrangements designed to maintain and direct a spontaneous collective movement" ("structures d'animation propres à orienter et à entretenir un mouvement collectif spontané"). The circular refers to organised arrangements, collective movements, and, at a later stage, teams, and goes out of its way to avoid the term "group innovation counsellor" ("animateur") in the singular. The actual objective is to achieve communication between teachers in the most discreet and unobtrusive ways and induce them to think and plan in concert in order to evolve a system of teaching which will facilitate initiative, communication and co-operation between the children. At both levels i.e. class teaching and teacher training, the emphasis is on personality development and team work on common educational projects. This was the period at which terms like "school community" or "educational community" became popular to express the ideal which all schools should work towards.

58. From the outset, however, there was ambiguity due to the fact that the renovation movement was launched by the central authority and is, by its nature, bound up with research. In this way the innovation counsellor ("animateur") appears as the harbinger of new ideas who is sent out into the provinces after having passed through a period of training first at national and then at regional ("académique") level. The "service de l'animation pédagogique" (Department of Educational Innovation) works to disseminate either the results of research which, it is felt, can be generalised in stages or the results of innovations which the Ministry has decided to generalise. Moreover, under the regulations, the "Départemental" inspector (IDEN) i.e. a senior official responsible inter alia for the rating of teachers, is in charge of educational innovation within his administrative district, so that the whole concept is shrouded in a fog of misconception which has done nothing to facilitate the introduction of organised arrangements or the inauguration of the various processes.

V.1 ii) The lessons of the experiment

59. The comparative failure of the early stages - both in the initial negotiation of objectives and contents and in the re-employment of teachers after a practical course (stage) - acted as a catalyst. The practical course could not be insulated either from previous or subsequent developments for it was expressly planned on the basis of an alternation system i.e. the lessons drawn from experience influencing subsequent practice. The teacher training college teachers for example, were dismayed to get batches of

trainees who were so unmotivated and so ill-informed that after registering for a course entitled "French-communication" they were surprised when they were offered psychomotor sessions. They had simply not understood the term communication. For their part, the trainees who at the offset were surprised at having to express training requirements which should have been familiar to trainers worthy of the name returned from the course disappointed at having been offered remedies which were so ill-suited to the difficulties they encountered in their classrooms.

60. In a word, the need was rapidly felt (practical experience is more instructive than circulars) for a pre-stage briefing designed to help trainees to choose the course for which they are motivated and to help trainers to acquire a better understanding of real requirements whether these are visible or latent. Without this two-way process, demand can neither be formulated with any consistency in the first phase nor can it develop, mature and acquire greater depth as it should do to enable the course to go beyond its immediate function (providing knowledge and techniques in line with professional experience) and fulfil its essential task of developing the personalities of the individuals in the group through group action.

61. But in performing this role the course generates as many further requirements as it satisfies and also certain anxieties which the trainee cannot be left to face alone when he returns to his classroom. One of the most urgent needs recorded in the course of the surveys conducted among the trainees is for a follow-up service helping them to put their new experience into operation and affording them moral support when their bold innovations encounter resistence from their environment i.e. colleagues, parents and even the inspectors and their deputies, in cases of doctrinal divergence between the teacher training college teachers and the inspectorate. And as the course is naturally meaningless unless it is supplemented by personal work on the part of the trainees and a firm effort not to allow themselves to be isolated, the follow-up arrangements should also be designed to arouse the curiosity of the environment, maintain the zest of the trainees and foster the emergence of a new demand for contact and training.

62. The foregoing shows how innovation counsellors can consolidate the work done in the courses. It presupposes organised arrangements to provide briefing, documentation (from official sources, union sources or educational movements) and afford opportunities for formal or informal meetings (refresher courses, educational symposiums... until such time as the training colleges or the educational documentation centres organise institutions on the lines of the Teachers' Centres in the United Kingdom).

63. Group innovation work subsequent to the practical courses has revealed a trend in the opposite direction, showing how the practical courses stimulate curiosity and encourage teachers, exchanges and consultations with colleagues or experts. Moreover, for all teachers who have not yet decided to take advantage of the 1972 Plan or who do not fall within its scope provision must continue to be made for constant group innovation work which is practically independent of the courses and is primarily a matter for the inspectors and their counsellors.

V.1 iii) Practical problems

64. The problem is therefore to ensure adequate homogeneity among these different aspects of group innovation work and the practical courses which may themselves be ultimately considered as climaxes or moments of maximum intensity... Or, to borrow a metaphor from the cinema, the practical courses are to group innovation work what a close-up taken by a zoom lense is to the rest of the film. The going is not so easy as it appears and there are two pitfalls. The urge to adapt the practical courses to the realities of the profession must not lead to a sort of on-the-job training (and particularly by counsellors) which might even turn potential applicants away from the courses. Nor must it result in

such superficial theorising as occurs when experience is analysed without sufficient conceptual equipment. Alternation is not only a matter of sequence, it also entails in-depth thinking, guided by research, on situations in which educational action can be made effective and improved not only in manner, content and method but also and most particularly in the way in which these three approaches are co-ordinated.

65. Even if we do not accompany the educational specialists thus far in their methodological thinking (36) plain common sense suggests that "the mere alternation of theoretical training and practical training is inadequate particularly when both are separated in time and place and given by different teachers who have no contact with one another".

The solution is of course to have a common pool of teachers although each would have his principal function in one or other of the two phases, i.e. in group innovation work in the field and tutoring activities at the teacher training school or within his own field of action. The inspectorate and their counsellors must be associated with the staff at the teacher training college while the teacher training college must be able to do more in the classroom than merely supervise their student teachers in the course of their initial training. It is also essential to harmonise the forms of intervention according to their deeper meaning. In this way the teacher training teachers would lay aside the authority they derive from their academic qualifications, the inspectors would divest themselves of their supervisory status while the counsellors would cease to give trainees instant practical advice drawn from their wealth of experience which, while solving the immediate problems of the trainees mask the long-term issues and induce a false sense of security based on a few time-honoured expedients in blatant contradiction to the objectives pursued by their courses. All this would call for amendments to the regulations, carefully organised team-work and appropriate, co-ordinated training for the various categories concerned, both by category and collectively.

66. The most visible result of the scheme for the in-service education and training of primary teachers, since its inception, has been that all concerned have been constrained to resume their own continuing training through group discussions on the organisation of the common task and with the support of a whole set of arrangements which are described in detail in G. Noël's study.(37) They include a closely interlocked scheme of training for the trainers themselves and arrangements for joint consultation. In an attempt to make the situation clearer, we propose to deal with each of them in succession.

V.2 Training the trainers

V.2. i) Training the training college teachers

67. The training of training college teachers (some 2,500 are concerned) is probably the crucial point in the conversion of the educational system which was given an irreversible impetus by the scheme for in-service education and training for primary teachers. This is also a characteristic example of INSET, associated with a series of innovations. The problems this training has raised are as interesting as the achievements it already has to its credit.

Adaptation and refresher courses

68. The training of teacher training college teachers is bound up with the changes in the teacher training colleges themselves. We have already mentioned that from 1945 to 1969 the colleges were in practice the lycées, where pupil teachers worked for their "baccalauréat" (secondary school leaving certificate) for three years after which they received a year of vocational training. In these circumstances, practically all the teachers were and still are lycée teachers whose qualifications enable them to apply either for posts in lycées or in teacher training colleges.

69. After 1969 and particularly after 1972 teacher training colleges underwent a complete change of vocation. They lost their lycée classes. They provided student-teachers with a 2-year professional training course with a much more practical slant than in the past. In particular, they ended up by devoting more than one third of their activity to the continuing training of primary teachers. This evolution reflected the changed outlook in the primary school and the new idea that teachers should be all-round in their approach, i.e. specialists in interdisciplinarity rather than merely proficient in a number of limited, juxtaposed subjects. As a result, the specialised qualifications of lycée teachers ceased to be adequate. The teachers were also ill-prepared to meet the specific requirements of adults taking a course of continuing vocational training. In the event, the balance was decisively tipped by the sudden influx of the trainees whose role has in fact been likened to that of the Trojan Horse.(38)

70. As the qualifications of the lycée teachers were no longer adequate, two series of measures were adopted as from 1971:(39)

- for teachers newly appointed as teachers at teacher training colleges an adaptation course was offered, for 30 or 40 volunteers, extending over one school year;
- for established teachers refresher courses extending over half a school year were offered, for groups of 10 to 20 volunteers (this scheme is still in process of development).

71. The adaptation course (40) is planned as a veritable vocational retraining course for adults. The training is based on a comparison made by the trainees themselves between the requirements of their future function and their initial qualification. They are specialists qualified in one discipline. Their future task, as part of a pluridisciplinary team, will be to train adults for a specific vocational function i.e. the duties of a multi-purpose primary school teacher. The teaching method adopted will be one suitable for adults i.e. people fully capable of assuming responsibility for their personal and professional development. The method is based on a complex system of alternating activities and locations, ample provision being made at each stage for negotiations between trainees and trainers (who are members of the same professional category) with regard to the content of the courses.

72. The timetable for this year of study is highly significant. The trainees begin with a period in which they attune themselves to the atmosphere of their training college and the schools in the district it serves. Their next step is to familiarise themselves with the task of teaching in a primary school. They then take charge of a group of teachers undergoing a continuing training course and subsequently of a group of student-teachers doing their initial training. Finally, they conduct surveys and prepare individual studies for the collective end-of-year review of activities.

73. The main point the refresher courses have in common with the adaptation courses is that they are attended by volunteer teachers from all disciplines. They are housed in small groups at primary teacher training colleges in university cities. Their training which is run on the alternation method is largely an assisted form of self-training. It is mostly designed to achieve the changes in attitude required by changes in function and largely involves sessions of collective thinking. This type of experiment obviously entails far-reaching self-criticism on the part of the trainees and, as a result of the tensions inherent in the group situation, is almost bound to lead to a critical analysis of institutions, beginning with the teacher training college itself and subsequently ranging from the primary school whose staff the college trains to the whole educational system of which the primary school is a component.(41)

Whether or not this development was expected at the outset, the implications of the operation have gone far beyond their initial objective. Giving teachers the responsibility of adapting their own competence to their new function is bound to lead to an upsurge of

intellectual and moral awareness which is so powerful that it results in a spate of exchanges and contacts in the bodies which have been set up to foster concerted action.

Training in the use of closed-circuit television

74. The same conclusions apply to another operation which we have already mentioned, i.e. the training of teacher training college teachers in the use of closed-circuit television. This training is of two types: practical 1-week courses at recently equipped teacher training colleges and regional and national seminars. In the course of the training discussions are held on the introduction of this new medium into the training process and not only the objectives of the training but also the mechanisms through which it is provided come under lively criticism. The seminars offer an opportunity of extending and comparing these local views and the convergence of all these ideas carries considerable weight. Can we go so far as to adopt A. Biancheri's opinion that with the convergence of 135 closed television circuits and the discussions which have arisen out of their use we have reached "the point of no return.... which will enable a decisive blow to be struck for a type of teaching based on personal proficiency, the perpetual improvement of that proficiency and the acceptance of individual responsibility"? In any event, whether it is approached through social psychology or technology, the training of teacher training college teachers is potentially of far greater importance than a mere vocational redeployment.

Basic problem and future prospects

75. Despite these achievements, the above operations continue to be limited. But they are bound to lead to a complete review of the function of teacher training colleges and their structure and staffing. Instead of adapting lycée teachers, a specific core of teachers will probably be set up to train all-purpose primary school teachers. This will be a way of retrieving, at a higher academic level, the elements that used to be the backbone of the teacher training colleges, when the preparation of student teachers was, from beginning to end, based on their actual job.

76. We understand that this "agonising reappraisal" is arousing fierce resistance, primarily among established teacher training college teachers, who are ill-disposed to exchange the substance of a task they are doing so well for the shadow of a suspect reform. Nor are those responsible for the political financial and technical structures any more enthusiastic in the face of the logical consequences of fundamental inquiry into the present role of primary school teachers i.e. the level at which they are recruited, their functions and consequently their status. The authorities are particularly well placed to exercise delaying tactics because the teachers are themselves divided on this question which involves a complex set of factors where questions of ideology jostle with union interests.

77. It may consequently be said that even the theoretical scheme for a general renovation is unlikely to come up in the near future. Nevertheless, the present courses are a by no means negligible operation. They are providing considerable food for thought from the top to bottom of the hierarchy and are a landmark in a process which is supported by the parallel trend in the training of the inspectors. The latter are the principal partners of the teacher training college teachers in the in-service education and training for primary school teachers. The two initial training courses already co-habit in the same centre. They will undoubtedly be at least partially merged in the near future while continuing training courses are tending to have an increasingly common content being designed for teacher training college teachers, heads of teacher training colleges and educational counsellors attached to the inspectors.

V.2 ii) The training of the inspectors ("Departmental" inspectors of National Education - IDEN)

78. Despite the difference in functions the present training of IDENs which was introduced in 1974 in line with a new set of regulations has striking similarities with the training laid down for teacher training college teachers which we have just analysed.

Their initial training which follows a competitive recruiting examination open to different levels of teachers may therefore be considered as a special case of INSET. It is a 2-year course, prompted by the same policy concerns as the adaptation course for teacher training college teachers (its first year being housed in the same centre, as already noted). It is organised on an alternating schedule of theory and practice, the latter gradually increasing, and concludes with a professional examination which reflects the various responsibilities now involved in the function of an IDEN, i.e. school and class inspection, organisation of a group of primary teachers undergoing continuing training and assistance (optional) to student teachers during their initial training period. It also includes a specialised examination in a particular discipline or at a particular level. Another significant factor is that the candidate co-operates with the examining board in evaluating his examination performance. There could not be any better way of emphasizing that the inspector's functions as a trainer are no less important than his traditional role of inspection and supervision and that there should be a new approach to his supervisory role. This is an innovation closely related to the reform of the educational system. In view of the fact that teachers are now expected to programme their own teaching, determine its immediate objectives and evaluate the results achieved with their pupils, the inspector can no longer verify whether teaching is in accordance with some programme or pre-established model. His task now is to see whether the teacher's performance is consistent with his stated intentions and whether his teaching is effective. Inspection is no longer concerned with simply upholding standards but with training and assisting the teacher with his self evaluation.

79. The system was introduced two years ago (the first batch of trainees completes its course next June) and is therefore still at the running-in stage. We lack space to discuss in detail the criticisms and suggestions it has given rise to. They are all bound up with a problem of substance and a problem of strategy. The problem which has been raised not only by teachers' unions but also by social psychologists, is whether it is possible for the same person, in dealing with the same teachers, to exercise the functions of administrative organiser, inspector, assessor and innovation adviser/trainer (a function which in the view of some observers requires the inspector to be independent of the institution)? Stricter thinking about the compatibility of these duties and their integration in a clear and flexible job definition might well have avoided the second criticism which throws doubt on the utility of an alternating system in which the first phase largely consists of theory and the second is almost entirely practical. Practice should precede theory and the same teachers should ensure an organic link between the two phases. The whole course should enable a teacher who has had a university training to make himself into a group adviser and personally promote innovation by working as a member of a team.

V.2 iii) Joint Training

80. The task of training group advisers capable of operating as a team has suggested a major innovation i.e. courses of continuing training for "personnel engaged in the initial and continuing training of primary school teachers". As in-service education and training for primary school teachers is bound to be a question of teamwork those responsible must be formed into a team. The continuing training courses for IDENs have therefore been merged with the courses designed for heads of training colleges and their teaching staff with priority for the simultaneous training of these three categories from one and the

same "Department". Other regionally organised courses ("académique") also include the educational adviser attached to the inspectors, teachers and college heads. The description of these courses (still based on the same principles of alternation and self-training with assistance when requested...) is less important than the idea behind them i.e. that people designed to operate together should be formed into teams. This is not only an innovation arising out of other innovations (teaching reform and the in-service education and training scheme for primary school teachers) but it is also in itself, a source of further innovations. Indeed, its effect is to encourage the participants in a project to analyse jointly the problems they have to solve jointly instead of blaming one another for any initial failures in the new system.

81. Up to the present, this experiment has not often been conducted in an atmosphere of serenity and with the feeling that its participants are working to some purpose. Indeed, in their dealings with the authorities from whom they expected guidance rather than watchful reserve, many participants felt the same frustration at the outset, as the primary school teachers had experienced from the start in their relations with their teacher training college teachers. But the formal expression of this dissatisfaction had the effect already observed in connection with the continuing training of training college teachers and in the seminars on the use of closed-circuit television. But, however uncomfortable it may have been for the representatives of the Ministry to participate in these courses, they nonetheless persevered in their efforts to extend the scheme to the "Equipes Départementales de Rénovation et d'animation pédagogiques" (Departmental teams for renovation and group innovation work in Teaching Techniques). But before we consider these teams, a word must be said about a partner whose offers of assistance have hitherto passed unnoticed i.e. higher education.

V.2 iv) Higher education

82. The 2-year vocational training course for student-teachers and the training provided for primary school teachers were associated at the outset with a teaching reform whose first tangible effects were felt in French and mathematics, the "basic" disciplines. As far back as 1969 it was considered that higher education could make a valuable contribution to this teaching form. However, apart from sporadic action by a number of Research Institutes for the Teaching of Mathematics - IREMs - (in conjunction with the National Institutes for Educational Research and Documentation teams - INRDP), this idea was rarely followed up. It is incidentally a moot point whether the most relevant contribution from the universities ought to have concerned the disciplines and whether it ought not really to have come from the departments of educational science in as much as the reform in primary school teaching largely concerned the general approach to teaching and the attitude of teachers to a change in objectives.

83. The article by G. Ferry already quoted (42) relates an experiment which was not followed up but which demonstrated that "personal training as part of a group is the element which emerges as the specific contribution made by the university authorities from the angle of social psychology". The head teachers of primary schools who took part in the experiment corroborate this view: "we feel more capable of reflection, analysis and acquiring an understanding of others and, in a word, have achieved a certain maturity which can only be beneficial in our dealings with the children, the parents and particularly our staffs..." (The word "particularly" highlights a problem which is crucial and is recognised as such).

84. A university in the north of Paris carried out an experiment, this time with teacher training college teachers, which totally confirms this impression.(43) It organised a 2-day symposium at the end of a university year for the teachers at a newly established teacher training college (about 25 people) and offered them an opportunity at the beginning

of the next university year of collectively taking part in a 3-day session of "total" self-expression (verbal, graphic, musical, theatrical, corporal) followed a week later by a second 3-day session of training in conference management. Although these meetings are at first sight not directly connected with the problems of the profession, they had a surprising effect on working relations throughout the year. Although these techniques should not be expected to produce a miraculous remedy for all ills they at least merit some additional thought. Unfortunately, a wide range of obstacles, both institutional and ideological stand in the way and as far as the immediate future is concerned it would be more advisable to pin one's hopes on the resources of the primary education system itself.

V.3 "Organisation and research"

85. We have already mentioned this scheme under which a regional inspector (inspecteur d'académie) submits his considered views on the way the operations in connection with teaching reform and the continuing training of primary school teachers have been conducted. An experimental, co-operative attitude in the classroom should be paralleled by an experimental approach to the management of innovation, always open to discussion. It should be understood that every experiment is open to revision and periodic evaluation should maintain a constant process of collective thinking, and there should be permanent negotiation as a result of which all the partners, i.e. the teachers before, during and after their courses and the "Departmental" official responsible for the operation, are to an increasing extent collectively committed. A special service has been set up to foster this constant negotiation i.e. the EDRAP or Equipe départementale de rénovation et d'animation pédagogique (Departmental Team for Renovation and Group Innovation Work in Teaching Techniques).

86. There have been varying reactions to the establishment of teams of this kind which was recommended as far back as 1970. Many observers have failed to see that this instrument is very flexible and, far from overlapping with official consultative bodies or competing with them, it offers additional facilities for concerted management. To begin with, it provided financial resources for a meeting to be attended by 25 people six days per year, the days being arranged to suit local requirements. The most rewarding work done by these teams is probably to organise courses where the achievements of each year, can, after thorough analysis, be used as guidance for the preparation of future programmes. Here we should, of course, need a number of "Departmental" case studies (44) to illustrate how complete processes can be organised in different contexts and acquired experience discussed in groups and used as a guide for subsequent experience and as an incentive to further progress. In this way the "Department" gains a feeling of collective responsibility for the daily task and here it may undoubtedly be considered that progress has been made even if the discussions sometimes overshoot their immediate objective and there is an awareness of the inadequacy or unsuitability of available facilities or a feeling of uncertainty due to the occasional failure of the central administrations to speak out.

87. The "Department" is undoubtedly the most suitable administrative unit for this kind of action. Contacts between "Departmental" teams, first at the level of the regional educational authorities (Académie) and subsequently among a number of these authorities were rapidly felt to be necessary in order to exchange experience, harmonize procedures and promote action on the part of the (numerous) teams which existed only on paper.

88. To remedy this deficiency, in particular, courses were organised for delegates from "Departmental" teams - a new example of the group training for personnel designed to operate collectively. Needless to say, these courses were organised on adult training lines. The EDRAPs themselves operate on the lines of a training process of this type inasmuch as they put together group research and organisation. As a result of these

courses which are attended by 12 departmental teams per year (out of about 100) and with the help of meetings between a number of regional educational authorities (réunions inter-académiques) the ultimate effects of the innovation on administrative and teaching methods are greater than might be suggested by the immediate results, which, even so, could only be considered negative by the most impatient of observers.

VI. REVIEW OF ACHIEVEMENTS

89. In-service education for primary school teachers is a considerable operation in itself by reason of the number of persons concerned, the effects of such training on their thinking and the innovations it has generated in the training (both initial and further) of trainers and group innovation personnel not to speak of the organisation and management angle. It is also a considerable undertaking in view of the difficulties of setting it in motion which are not only due to its extent and cost.

90. These difficulties are caused by a large number of factors. The primary school teachers themselves are not all aware of the need for change nor are they all capable of deriving profit from courses some of which call for a certain cultural background. The familiar forms of resistance are encountered from colleagues and parents. The inertia of the institution itself and the material and administrative difficulties involved in participation and organisation are frequently aggravated by the scepticism of the unspoken disapproval of certain inspectors. And the persistence of formal teaching methods is an ever-present, inhibiting source of misunderstandings.

91. The major obstacle to development continues to be uncertainty, due to distrust on one side and silence on the other, as to the real effects and the policy implications of the operation. Although horizontal communication is comparatively effective in a large number of "Departments" vertical communication is much less effective or at least the information and queries sent up from below are not noticeably re-disseminated in the form of a synthesis at national level. The reports submitted at the inter-regional (inter-académiques) sessions are often eloquent in their various ways and even if they reflect complaints, scepticism or deep anxiety they are always full of conviction and optimism. But there is no answering echo from the Ministry.

92. The comparative lack of success and the stagnation which certain observers already believe they can detect are largely due to this absence of any explicit consensus as to what is at stake. The initial agreement between the Ministry and the National Union of Primary Teachers was not without the mental restrictions which are always a feature of this kind of negotiation. The National Union of Primary Teachers has its doctrine, which has been publicly stated, while the Ministers' agreement to continuing training in no way implied approval of the whole of the system advocated. Nor is it possible to say how far the views of both sides concord in the absence of any systematic statement of aims on the part of the Ministry. Continuing training is officially presented as a tool in the service of teaching reform the principles of which were laid down in 1969. In 1976 guidelines for the implementation of the latest sections of the provisions are still awaited.

93. Without a clear and generally accepted definition of the function to be assigned to the renovated primary school and the appropriate facilities to be allocated it is impossible to trace the profile of the new teachers (it would moreover probably be necessary to revise not only the nature of the required qualifications but also the level of recruiting and training). As a result the whole training scheme rests on a an unstable basis and affects the nature of the change which continuing training as currently organised is designed to introduce. To echo G. Ferry,(45) we are hovering uneasily between academic teaching problems and professional/personal problems, depending on whether legislation or practice is involved. The first set of problems, which have a bearing on syllabuses and didactics,

probably call for a compensatory retraining which certain teachers recruited during the barren years no doubt still require more than anything else. The second group of problems centering on the teacher/pupil relationship and on the teacher's "committedness" which was advocated as far back as 1968 at the Amiens Symposium (with the approval of the then Minister) is more consistent with the type of in-service education and training which is designed as an instrument to help a constantly evolving system regulate itself. The profile and the approach adopted by the trainers (or group advisers responsible for training) depends on which of the two sets of problems is selected or the proportions in which they are mixed. The second set which evidently prompts much of the methodology adopted for the courses does not, as we have already seen, always lead to systematic opposition but logically tends towards a critical analysis of the whole institution which is the necessary prerequisite for any lucid "commitment".

94. This brings us back to our initial diagnosis. Nobody would now dream of challenging the need for in-service education and training for primary school teachers. But this will not yield its maximum results until it is based on a negotiated project for education which will enable plans to be made in all lucidity for the best way of using available resources and maintaining an essential coherence between training objectives (which it is a matter for the state to define) and training methods. As a very official national seminar concluded last May, it is necessary "that the personnel concerned, whichever category they belong to and whatever training procedure they take part in, should realise that despite the diversity of the procedures adopted there is a common outlook and a unanimous effort to achieve common objectives. This point not only concerns directly the organisers and trainees but also relates to the planning and the whole of the administrative infrastructure at the different levels of responsibility".

95. Is it possible to arrive at a consensus, in the idealogical climate referred to in Section I? There is no reply to this question unless policy makers have deliberately decided to bury their heads in the sand.(46) As long as the situation remains inconclusive the trend cannot fail to be slow, sporadic and fraught with conflict. Nevertheless, the process has been set in motion and cannot be reversed. The very absence of any coherent guidelines and the need to improvise them have set free forces which cannot be crushed however much they may be curbed and inhibited. Although it is going ahead under conditions of uncomfortable and inevitable confusion the process has finally begun to bear fruit even if the patterns it presents cannot be transferred in their present state or even transposed.

96. A study of its first three years, in which, to paraphrase Piaget, many participants have had to invent what they could not understand and act without always knowing the reason why, is nonetheless instructive. It reveals the trends and tempo of a slowly maturing educational innovation which has largely been left to itself. Whatever belief one has in the systematising of policies the experiment now in progress reveals the natural factors which will still have to be taken into account when it has been decided where we want to go. In this nationwide operation, in which decentralised initiative has to be successfully reconciled with the need to make a group of systems coherent and maintain the continuity of an existing communications network, the period of emancipation with its divergent initiatives should now give place to a methodical structuring phase. But, in any event, the necessary planning must remain flexible and reserve a place for a type of cybernetic control which can also be democratic.

CASE STUDY 2 - THE MAURICE BAQUET COURSE

1. The Maurice Baquet course is named after a pioneer in the field of physical education and sport and, at first sight, does not appear to have much in common with in-service education and training for primary school teachers. The number of people it has concerned is limited i.e. 15,000 trainees in eleven years of existence. It centres on a single discipline, that of physical education and sport. It has no bearing on the primary school as an institution and is organised during the holidays by the Federation Sportive et Gymnique du Travail (FSGT) which deals with all types of sport and whose trainees pay their own expenses. As far as its objectives are concerned it labours under no ideological or educational ambiguity: the FSGT's educational doctrine is explicitly bound up with a socialist conception of society. On the latter point, it will be remembered that the great majority of teachers' unions, educational movements, youth associations and popular educational groups in France at the present time have a conception of society which is socialistic (with all the variations this may imply). This is a factor which all thinking about teaching reform and the appropriate training of teachers is bound to take into account in present-day in France.

2. Apart from these considerations, the Maurice Baquet Course is an example of a scheme of INSET whose methodological value has nothing to do with its ideological basis. Nobody is obliged to adopt its basic premises in order to make use of its methods. Its objective is to encourage teachers of physical education to engage in "action-research"-which is the only experimental approach now likely to achieve the necessary "renovation" of physical education. The latter covers not only physical education in school syllabuses but the educational and sporting activities arranged for children at the "Centres de Loisirs" (leisure Centres). The FSGT takes care not to confuse the two and considers that as both these types of activity are designed for the same children they call for the same teaching methods and have a joint bearing on the part played by physical activities and sport in adult life. A majority of those who attend the Maurice Baquet Course are teachers and students of physical education but it also appeals to primary school teachers and sports organisers outside the educational system; the discussion of different yet related experiences is clearly rewarding to all parties (who are joined every year by a small contingent of trainees from other countries). However, the Course is primarily organised for the benefit of a pilot category, i.e. teachers of physical education and sport and it is with this category in mind that we propose to consider its basic principles.(47)

3. Physical education in schools is in need of reform. Even when it allocates as much time to sport (seen by some as a factor of good health and by others as an element of psychomotory education and a school of self-expression or spontaneity) as befits such a characteristic feature of our contemporary culture it resorts to teaching methods which are too dogmatic, too reminiscent of drill and imitation and insufficiently based on the lessons to be learned from educational science. But it is particularly difficult to reform because the empirical training given to teachers outside universities and confirmed in their professional duties hardly encourages them to change. Their undoubted proficiency enables them to cope with day-to-day contingencies but ultimately it precludes any tendency to query their own methods as this would seem like doubting themselves.

4. The purpose of the Course is not to shake their faith in their proficiency nor to

give them additional knowledge of no practical value nor to replace old dogmas by new ones just as likely to become rapidly obsolete.

5. Armed with the conviction that teachers change only if they want to change and the basic proposition that they will want to change as soon as they have come to realise what they are as teachers, the Maurice Baquet Course sets out to achieve the self-knowledge which opens the way to progress. At the same time it gives the trainee every support throughout what is a pretty tough endurance test. In so doing it makes use of a typical strategy of "assisted self-training". The trainee is placed in situations where he is forced to invent solutions but where he has the support of a group approach, a structured timetable and trainers who are themselves constantly seeking solutions.

To break the trainee of his habits the Course makes use of two methods. It operates in symbiosis with a holiday camp which receives children who are much younger than the pupils the trainees usually teach. The task of the trainees is to act as organisers and group leaders in the kind of activities which children on holiday see as games but which are also an initiation into a form of sport suitable for their level of development. This is an initial difficulty. A second difficulty is to couple this task with a research assignment: this year for example the trainees were asked to observe the process of socialising children through their first steps in some sport. In both cases the problem is a practical one: it is good for children to be initiated into one or more sports during their stay in a holiday camp. At the same time the relations inside a temporary community with educational aims merits a full-scale methodical study carried out within its actual time dimensions, according to the rules of experimental method and in the light of any appropriate scientific research. In the present case, for example, research by ethnologists into the behaviour of very young children was used and provides a good example of action research in support of a training process.

6. Each day there are two periods of maximum emphasis: in the morning from 9 to 11 the trainees, working in teams, take over the leadership of groups of children and observe their behaviour. In the evening they hold two working sessions (a total of five hours) in which they discuss the events of the morning with the help of tape recordings and, still in teams, prepare the following day's activities. The trainers leave the trainees the responsibility for preparing and conducting these activities. They take part in the discussions, provide the relevant documents and when necessary recapitulate the lessons learnt in previous courses. They get together and discuss the way the course is proceeding. They also assemble and work up the teaching material developed in the course of the group work. This is the origin of the "mementos" each dealing with a different sport discipline and designed for teachers or youth leaders. In this way the course is part of a long-term process with which an ever increasing number of former trainees remain associated.

7. The salient features of this training strategy are therefore: a systematic reconditioning process which compels the trainees to invent solutions to problems which are new to them; a complex alternation of intensive and non-intensive action, practical experience in the field and discussion of that experience; a methodical adoption of group work, the exclusion of any kind of formal instruction, the refusal to proffer advice except on demand and a considerable supporting use of audio-visual auxiliaries. This type of training is deliberately modelled on the psychological approach used with adults and is valid for any type of INSET which goes beyond a mere refresher course in a limited field. The effort demanded by such a radical change in teaching approaches must not be underestimated. To drop the technique of subject-teaching and switch to a method which involves solving problems in a context of play is no less a test than a Lycée teacher has to face when he becomes a teacher training college teachers.

8. Physical education offers an environment which is particularly conducive to this

kind of change for a whole number of reasons, some intrinsic and some circumstantial. As is often the case, the latter provide the most immediate incentive. Physical education is such an unlikely subject to claim the status of a university discipline in France that the very recent creation of a university diploma in the "science and technique of physical and sports activities" awarded after two years' study subsequent to the baccalauréat has been hailed as the dawn of a new era. In these circumstances teachers of physical education have something of a complex in the presence of their literary or scientific colleagues which spurs them to greater effort to give the discipline enhanced status by looking at it theoretically. As they are unable to quote any specific research of university level, this being still very underdeveloped, or any applied educational research of the type devoted to the "intellectual" disciplines, they naturally turn their attention elsewhere. The Maurice Baquet Course consequently maintains constant contact with a university department of educational science, movements for educational renovation (CEMEA: Centres d'Entrainement aux Méthodes d'Education Active; GFEN: Groupe Français d'Education Nouvelle) and the INRDP research groups particularly for the teaching of French.

9. This latter type of contact can be very meaningful because it brings together speech and action which are not only two essential factors in the "humanisation" of young children but, more generally, two essential components in the relationships between one individual and another and among the members of a group. By concentrating on the former our education has probably underestimated the latter and neglected the contribution of physical education to teacher-pupil relationships in general. Physical education deals with the most spontaneous activity of children, i.e. play which, in its corporal aspect, has to be channelled towards the socialisation of the physical leisure activities characteristic of our culture. The first week of the Maurice Baquet Course centres on children faced with the basic situations encountered in sport and the last week is devoted to competitive sport at championship level, while the intermediate week is concerned with the problems of the teacher and educational innovation. This structure is also reflected in the composition of the "mementos" which are presented in three parts, i.e. an exposition of teaching situations (illustrated by a strip cartoon), an analysis of these situations and a correlative analysis of the activity of sports champions. The approach is obviously identical to that now advocated as much for the teaching of art and music, the use of the mother tongue or first steps in science. But it is advisable for educators to adopt this approach first in physical education where the teacher's body and mind are more immediately committed. It undoubtedly provides an opportunity for non-verbal communication, a relational component, which is sometimes eclipsed by verbal communication, but never entirely superseded, even if its importance too often goes unrecognised in the relationships between adults and children and among adults themselves. The Maurice Baquet Course offers an actual experience of the continuity between the organisation/observation of the children in their pre-play situation, the end-of-morning meeting of trainers and trainees to relax in the practice of some sport and the group work in the evening when personal relations acquire a meaningfulness which transcends the mere exchange of ideas or information. In this context, the videotape recorder, which is particularly expressive when applied to physical activities, really comes into its own as a source of documentary evidence to be used in conjunction with mutual observation.

Transpositions

10. The strategy of the Maurice Baquet Course is not only valid in its original context. It can quite well be transferred to the school environment and used in physical education classes and any INSET which is based on teaching relationships. All that is necessary is to allow for the difference in context. This has been done for some years in one adminis-

trative region in connection with an official scheme for the in-service education and training of physical training teachers.(48) As in the INSET courses for primary school teachers it was found necessary to associate the courses with decentralised group innovation work. In this way, the courses are enriched by an initial period of collective thinking geared to practical day-to-day considerations which means that they can better meet the concrete problems of the teachers and continue to be useful to them once the course is finished. The arrangements include local educational seminars and courses arranged by the regional educational authorities. A similar trend has been noted and encouraged at both levels: the demand for theoretical data which can be passively imbibed has developed into a joint effort to evolve new solutions to problems for which there is no ready-made solution as the circumstances are, by definition, unique, considering the personalities of the teachers and the pupils. There has been a change in the functions not only of the local seminar organiser but also of the training team responsible for the courses. They were initially expected to teach, but they have had to become technicians capable of handling audio-visual equipment.

11. It must not be imagined that this evolution has run smoothly and encountered no obstacles: a joint search for solutions is a procedure which has to be learnt. At the outset, the need for it must be felt. This is the first stage at which the specific approach used in adult training is adapted and no further use is made, for example, of theoretical lectures on specific aspects of individual disciplines and even practical demonstrations of teaching reforms are discontinued because they are lectures even though they may be illustrated by examples. Thereafter, the course is based on the actual experience of the adult trainee and the objective adopted is to base the training on concrete situations and mutual help so as to "explain what the trainee sees and knows but does not understand instead of giving him new information independent of his past experience". The obstacle here is that the trainees - and to a considerable extent their trainers - are inadequately prepared for collective thinking and are not very proficient in handling the media of communication and exchange. This has now made it necessary to concentrate not on the subject of the discussions i.e. running a class or organising a sport, but on the objectives and methods of collective thinking itself. A noteworthy result is that the quality of the teaching and of the discussions about teaching have both shown improvement since it becomes almost a habit to relate both these factors to their joint objective.

12. This attitude to teaching reform and to team thinking on teaching which involve corollaries that counter-balance each other obviously goes far beyond the scope of physical education. It is valid for all disciplines because it relates to their common ultimate objective i.e. to encourage children to express themselves freely and foster their independence in a community in process of construction. There is an interaction between the process of teacher training and the process of class teaching whatever the discipline may be. In all cases, the teacher's ability to create a climate of emancipation and self-fulfilment is more important than the procedures he uses in one or other discipline. In such terms as "physical education" or "musical education" it is the word education which counts. "The welcome a teacher of physical education extends, his personality and his general education... give him more in common with a teacher of French who has the same teaching approach than with another physical education teacher who cannot get away from his figures, his instructions and his gymnasium." This is of course only the case if there is agreement as to the general objectives which determine this identical "teaching approach". This raises a problem of ideology or policy (and also problems of structure and training).

The USEP courses

13. This strategy which applies to the separate disciplines encountered in the secondary school system is no less valid in the primary system, where the teacher handles all subjects including physical education. Its essential principles will easily be recognised, though no doubt in a less systematised form, in the courses organised by the "Union Sportive de l'Enseignement Primaire" (USEP).(49)

14. We will simply draw attention to three significant features:

a) Totally new situation

To ensure this completely new situation the Maurice Baquet Course assigned a number of lycée teachers the task of organising games for children at a holiday camp, as an initiation into organised sport. The USEP courses put adults in teaching situations which are normally reserved for children of 5 to 8 years of age. In both cases the guiding principle is the same i.e. to organise a session of collective thinking about an experiment which is unusual and yet in line with the trainees' normal activity and based on either a change of role or a change of clientèle. This is a way of gaining their attention and facilitating the transfer at the same time. The objective is, as before, to induce teachers to think about their usual practice with as much care and objectivity as they approach this unusual experience.

b) Mixed trainer/trainee activities based on corporal expression

The course devotes considerable time to activities concerned with rhythm and bodily expression. These activities are often approached with apprehension, but, as a general rule, they turn out to have an emancipating effect not only in the practice of other physical activities but as regards interpersonal relations. The trainees and most of the trainers (all those who specialise in some sport technique) are equally inexperienced and this rules out any authority relationship on the score of superior proficiency. During the course some of the teachers and inspectors live and work together (in 1975 the proportion was 10 per cent) whereas normally they are separated by reason of hierarchy. What is involved is not simply a comic reversal of the master and servant relationship with everybody resuming his proper place the next day. The experiment shows that after 10 days of living and working together the inspectors begin to see themselves in a new light and both they and the teachers are able to get behind the role façade and see one another as they really are. With the same object in view the course is so organised that the trainers act alternatively as trainees in one of the workshops and trainers in their own particular subject.

c) Dissemination

The USEP courses are organised at three levels i.e. "Departmental", regional (académique) and national. The trainees sent by the "Department" to the regional course, preferably a team, are primary school teachers who have already attended at least one voluntary "Departmental" course in order to be able to participate in training the next batch. Similarly, the teams of trainees sent by the regions to the national course cover the entire range of special subjects and are therefore able, on their return, to act as trainers at the "departmental" or regional courses (the latter are designed for all-purpose teachers and offer the full range of physical activities available in schools). In this way, the national course takes trainees who already have experience both as teachers and trainers. It concentrates on the difficulties already encountered in the courses open to teachers with the least training. Trainers who are to make up the teams

attend these courses at the same time and this ensures consistency and efficiency in disseminating the results of the national course on their return (the whole system being based on a highly decentralised system of permanent group innovation work). At each of the levels, all-purpose trainers (primary school teachers and occasionally inspectors) who have received the necessary extra training at the higher course operate together with trainers specialising in physical education as a whole or in other disciplines or activities. Finally, a large proportion of the participants find themselves in the position either of trainers or trainees, at one and the same course or from one course to another. In this way the traditional one-way pattern of transmitting knowledge with its deadening effects on initiative is gradually losing ground.

CASE STUDY 3 - SCHEME FOR THE IN-SERVICE EDUCATION AND TRAINING OF TEACHERS IN THE FIRST CYCLE OF SECONDARY EDUCATION

Introduction

1. In 1974-75 a minutely organised scheme was put into force in the Académie d'Orléans for the training of teachers in the first cycle of secondary education. An account of the course has been published (50). It merits careful reading as its main interest often lies not only in details observed in the course of action and impressions arising from the experiment as it was being carried out but also in the answers to the evaluation questionnaires. Only a very general survey of the course can be given here.

Background and description

2. In 1971-72 there were a considerable number of auxiliary teachers in secondary education who had entered teaching with practically no training and the regional authorities had considered a scheme for training them. In the period which passed before permission could be obtained and facilities made available their number had fallen so low that it was felt preferable to include them in a scheme for the in-service education and training of established teachers and allocate the available facilities to that scheme. Our reference to this case is not intended to call attention once again to the part played by circumstances in the birth of an innovation but to compare two types of operation whose essential difference often escapes those concerned. Training auxiliary teachers means giving them the initial training (subject to any necessary adaptations) which they never received. It is legitimate that a considerable proportion of such training should continue to proceed on traditional lines. But a continuing training scheme which is designed, as at Orléans, to encourage a change in teaching approaches has to meet a quite different series of problems and calls for quite another strategy. The promoters of the operation had some difficulty in getting those concerned to understand this point.

3. The principles they adopted were as follows:

- Training to be extended to all first-cycle teachers who volunteered;
- Projects to be decentralised to the maximum extent in order to limit costs and cut down travelling;
- Teaching staff of small isolated schools to be given priority and limited to groups of several colleagues from one and the same school;
- Training to be a kind of self-refresher course designed to help teachers to solve the practical problems they encounter in their classes and schools, i.e., methods, contents, objectives, work organisation and relations with pupils and colleagues;
- The learning process to centre on document production;
- Teachers to be grouped for this purpose in teams of about 15 (the F1s), run by a colleague acting as team leader (the F2s);
- Each F1 to participate in two different groups:
    - one working on its own discipline for six days,
    - the other composed of colleagues from different disciplines but belonging to neighbouring schools working on interdisciplinary questions (marking systems, independent work, teaching teams, etc.) for four days;
- The ten days to be spread over the first two terms of the school year and would take

place on working days, that is Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays - Saturday being excluded;
- The F2 team leaders to be given hours off and a ten-day preparatory training supplemented by meetings for exchanges of experience, evaluation and additional training on demand.

4. Needless to say this scheme bore no relationship to a retraining operation. But the term "training scheme" which continued to be used did nothing to remove the ambiguity. Many teachers volunteered in order to receive an additional vocational training in the ordinary sense of the term (suitable for auxiliary teachers). Others, a little better informed expected to receive a training in social psychology (particularly as an appropriate department of the university was concerned in the operation) and vaguely imagined that their trainers were going to give them formal lectures. Very few expected to go through a self-training process as part of a group and not all of them got over their disappointment easily.

5. But the planners had set their faces against a scheme of the refresher-course type, which, in their view, was the surest way of consolidating the traditional image of the teachers transmitting knowledge, guiding thought and correcting written work (51). This would accentuate the overall errors of the system, divide up disciplines into compartments, encourage the amassing of information and make transfer impossible.

6. The scheme they wished to introduce was, as they said, an adult training system based on the principles adopted in business and industry for training executives of a level comparable to that of the teachers, i.e., a system of task groups operating in a normal work situation and run by team leaders from the same environment who had received a special training for their role. For this reason the training of the F2 leaders, who were not supposed to have any superiority over the others based on grade or technical proficiency, was of vital importance. It was devised to give them a semi-directive approach, avoiding a permissive attitude as likely to be unproductive but also eschewing formal lecturing methods. It was felt that these judiciously planned exchanges would speed up a teaching reform which was already perceptible and generally desired (as confirmed by the 800 applications received for 500 places) and would particularly encourage the pupil-centred type of teaching which had been more advocated than practised up to that time.

7. This "experiment in self-training to enable teachers to change their approach to teaching and make it more pupil-centred" was also designed to build up permanent teaching teams as there is no further doubt that the schools need them whether they are composed of teachers responsible for the same class or for the same discipline. It is a well-known fact that teams of this kind find it very hard to operate as teachers have never learnt to work in teams and neither the structures nor the traditions of the educational system have provided them with much incentive. The idea was to give them an opportunity of experiencing the rewarding nature of this system and also the difficulties involved which, though real, can be disposed of provided the teachers have learnt to analyse them. The "class" team were given the four interdisciplinary days which grouped together three "quintets" of secondary schools in varying localities, while the "teaching" team dealt with discipline groups. The latter had six days including the first two. Their task was to enable the participants to discover that there is an advantage in exchanging even simple practical experiences. Certain of the participants are in a position to guide the others from the theoretical angle and the variety of practical approaches shows the very wide degree of freedom allowed by the syllabuses and regulations. When the documents and teaching media are prepared jointly all the participants will realise that they are capable of turning this freedom to account for the benefit of their pupils. This will enable them to understand that "teachers operating in a team are capable of creativity in the service of their

pupils". This realisation is bound to create new needs and generate new training efforts of either a collective or, if not, individual nature.

8. The operation was on a large scale and covered over 500 trainers and trainees. It was also a training research project; reports were compiled at each stage and an evaluation was carried out by questionnaires; at the same time arrangements were made for external evaluation to ascertain how far the plan had achieved its objectives. One final general characteristic may be quoted, i.e., the exemplary way in which the efforts of the education authorities, the inspectorate and trainer corps, the university (Department - U.E.R. - of Literature and Human Science) and the Regional Centre for Educational Documentation were co-ordinated.

9. It would be fascinating to follow the experiment through all its phases but this would take too long. We shall simply note some of the major difficulties encountered and lessons learnt after looking briefly at the F2s who were the pivot of the whole operation.

The Training of the F2s

10. Their profile had been defined as follows: "Open-minded, adaptable teachers, with experience, past or present, in the first cycle, chosen if possible from among those who have not yet undertaken any responsibility as trainers with a view to ensuring the services of the most capable teachers in the region". This final need met an unexpected response at the end of the experiment when certain F2s expressed the wish "to give other colleagues a chance of undertaking this very rewarding task". A continuing training scheme of this kind tends to generate a large number of occasional trainers.

11. The training was designed to enable the trainers to run two types of groups of 12 to 15 colleagues, i.e., discipline and interdiscipline groups and to achieve results. The course took ten days, i.e., six days' training in group management and group initiation work in general (spread over three weeks), followed by four days' training in each particular discipline. It was conducted by two interconnected teams of trainers (F3s): six teachers trained in group techniques at the Orléans Literature U.E.R. who had already run courses of initiation in problems of communication and relations were in charge of general training; the other team was responsible for nine working groups (one per discipline).

12. The objective of the general training was to enable F2s to run sessions of collective thinking on teaching problems outside the usual context of their discipline, obtain a deeper insight into the network of relationships which forms around a teacher, study their own group behaviour and develop their listening capacities. The training was, of course, also intended to provide them with materials for the interdisciplinary seminars which they would have to run. The activities were of the traditional type, i.e., gradual development of the group, formulation of requirements, negotiation of a working programme, exercises in decision-making, discussion on group initiation work, case studies, simulation exercises, work in sub-groups and preparation of a report, exercises in communication, preparation of periodical progress reports and analyses and the making of video recordings.

13. The four-days' work on individual disciplines then followed. They were planned so as to enable the F2s, in the absence of any special discipline regulation, to lead a group debate on their discipline on semi-directive lines. For this purpose they simulated the role of F1s, formulating their requirements and finding suitable replies. The F3s who were highly qualified specialists attached more importance to stimulating the potential abilities of the F2s than to briefing them on new data.

In this way the F2s experienced the two types of situation they would be likely to meet. The number of them that dropped out of the course was very small (three out of forty) despite the growing strain they were subjected to. However, it was only a great deal later that they felt the benefit themselves.

A few problems ...

14. The main difficulty encountered was one which had been foreseen, i.e., the misunderstandings and even differences of opinion which were likely to arise regarding the objectives of the operation. This ambiguity proved to be an obstacle not only in the initial negotiation of objectives but also in the final evaluation of the scheme by the trainees. The latter often found it hard to admit that the course was more suitable to their basic requirements than the type of retraining they had imagined they were volunteering for. To use G. Ferry's terminology, they are still at the "academic-pedagogic" stage of the problem whereas the training scheme was conceived to meet the "vocational-personal" problem. Hence the confusion between the terms "interdisciplinary" (concerning problems common to all disciplines or independent of any discipline) and "pluridisciplinary" (under which several disciplines converge on the same subject). They are convinced that a "pupil-centred approach" demands greater competence in their particular discipline (in which they must acquire greater "proficiency") rather than a different kind of competence or even much more sensitivity to problems of interpersonal relations and to the processes by which knowledge is assimilated or built up. From this attitude it was only a short step (in the atmosphere which prevailed at Orléans, as elsewhere) to the conclusion that the course was just a cheap palliative, and often that step was taken.

15. In these circumstances it may be worth reviewing the whole strategy - with reference to the Maurice Baquet Course and the courses organised by the Besançon regional education authorities. It had been decided to tackle the difficulties in logical order i.e. to proceed from the known to the unknown and approach the new process of collective thinking through the individual disciplines and only subsequently from an angle common to all disciplines. Would it not have been better to administer a shock by combining the two unfamiliar approaches at the outset, which is incidentally what the F2s hoped for (perhaps because they themselves had been treated in that way)? It is still a moot point. The problem has often been raised in similar terms in connection with the continuing training of primary school teachers i.e. is it better to begin by satisfying their anxious requests for ready-made recipes and greater knowledge or start off at once by a change in teaching approaches? We must know what we want and how we think we are going to achieve it i.e. we must decide whether the main purpose of the course is to respond uncritically to the desires of the trainees or whether an effort should be made to master the techniques of group work and teach the trainees to put aside their vague or insubstantial hankerings in favour of an operational programme and seek their own solutions to problems in terms perhaps differently formulated with aims better defined and more open to discussion. For example, can collective thinking about the best way of using a set of audio-visual documents foster a discussion on the objectives of third-form or first-form history teaching? We have already seen how the use of closed-circuit television can spark off a similar process.

... and a few conclusions

16. The net result of the operation is undoubtedly positive even if many F1s and even F2s are still left asking for more. There is no doubt that the most important achievement is to have aroused the appetites of the trainees and stimulated them to greater curiosity, particularly by arranging for them to evaluate their own work. This has fostered an outlook which may gain ground in the schools that supplied the trainees (by groups of at least

five schools, it will be remembered) and spread through the classrooms. The habit of comparing what has been done with what was intended is probably the most necessary element in the practice of innovation.

17. The Orléans experiment revealed two important (and obvious) facts:

1) A pupil-oriented teaching approach calls for creativity from individual teachers and team work from them all. Creativity is open-mindedness to meet the essentially unpredictable approach of each child (or the class as a group) to knowledge. It also requires teamwork by the teachers who are responsible for the same pupil (or the same batch of pupils) at a particular time or from time to time. Teachers find that collective thinking not only protects them against insecurity but also stimulates their creativity.

2) Team work calls for a specific period of apprenticeship, a "basic" training in social psychology followed by a fairly thorough and lengthy period of practice to bring the teams to maturity. Two pieces of evidence may be quoted. One is that of a group which was sorry to split up "just at a time when we were beginning to get to know one another" (after six sessions of work on specific subjects). In two separate answers to an evaluation questionnaire at the end of their own training cycle and at the end of the operation in which they had been engaged, F2s confirmed the growing importance they attached to proficiency in communication techniques not only among the group leaders but also among all the participants... A tall order!

18. It will be noted that the whole training scheme was based on a particular postulate whose soundness and logic the policy-making authority may not be inclined to accept. The postulate is that effective teaching must now be centred on the pupil. This is unimportant as long as lip service is paid to the idea but as soon as it is taken seriously every aspect of the process gradually comes under criticism, i.e. the teacher's approach and therefore his type of competence and relevant training, the planning of syllabuses, the monitoring procedures, the internal workings of schools, the organisation of the teaching service, etc. It really requires a compelling urge, either scientific or ideological, to enter lucidly and sincerely into a venture of this kind. Organising a self-training scheme for teachers, with adequate infrastructures is no doubt the first step towards innovation. But it is difficult to predict and control the consequences of an enterprise of this kind.

CASE STUDY 4 - IFEPP TRAINING COURSE
FOR TEACHERS IN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Lessons learnt from an aborted scheme

1. For the second time /after the courses for teachers in a business or industrial environment (52)/ we propose to consider a venture which had to be discontinued. In neither case does the discontinuance of the experiment signify that it was a failure and there are a number of useful lessons to be learned from it.

2. In 1957 the Ecole des parents et éducateurs was formed into the Institut de Formation en Psychologie Familiale et Sociale and this in 1968 became the Institut de Formation et d'Etudes Psychosociologiques et Pédagogiques (IFEPP), a private institution. By an agreement signed under the legislation on upgrading and vocational training, the Ministry of Education provides a subsidy and the IFEPP, in return, accepts volunteer teachers taking authorised leave of absence to attend training courses for which the IFEPP charges a reduced fee. The tuition consists of cycles of inter-occupational training courses in "inter-personal, group and institutional relations designed for all persons who, by reason of their occupational functions in industry and socio-educational institutions or their membership of groups or collective organisations are anxious to gain a deeper insight into the mainsprings of their activities and participate in the development of continuing training". These courses are in fact mainly attended by social workers, staff of the Ministry of Education, teachers (particularly in the secondary cycle), head teachers and vocational guidance counsellors. After a minimum of two 3-day "basic" courses (initiation into team work and collective thinking on training) the teachers - with whom we are particularly concerned here - will be offered a range of specialised cycles (organisation and management of meetings, education and sex problems, education and teaching - the latter more specifically centred on classroom problems and teaching approaches). In addition to the syllabuses covered by the agreement, the IFEPP also lends its trainers to various courses organised at teacher training colleges, Regional Centres for Pedagogical Documentation and projects conducted by the FOEVEN (53).

3. The scheme for a training in social psychology, independent but recognised by the authorities, designed by reason of its origin and procedures to deal with educational problems outside the formal educational system and concerned with continuing training was organised in response to a considerable variety of needs and expectations which had been generally mooted since 1968. It was therefore well attended. In 1972 over three thousand teachers took part in at least one training cycle representing a total of 7,500 courses. Since 1970, over 500 new enrolments have been recorded annually for the basic cycle.... Paradoxically, however, the legislation of 1971 on continuing training was to cause difficulties over budget appropriations for the subsidy. These difficulties would no doubt have been overcome in the atmosphere which enabled the FOEVEN operation to be launched in 1969. However, in 1974-75 they became an official motive for breaking the agreement: henceforth teachers interested in the IFEPP training scheme attend the courses at their own expense, as in the case of any private organisation or educational movement.

4. As in the case of the courses organised in business and industrial environments, it is undoubtedly regrettable that an experiment which was clearly arousing increasing interest among teachers should have been discontinued without compensation, especially as the

experiment was in line with the sufficiently widespread belief that the educational system must be opened up if it is to be renovated. Indeed, teachers were never in the majority in the "basic" inter-occupational courses but they were able to compare their experience and problems usefully with those of workers from other sectors, some different and some related. For them the courses were indeed a vocational training, designated as "a further apprenticeship which was complementary to the acquisition of knowledge". It not only emphasized the third term of the triad "savoir, savoir faire, savoir être" (learn, learn to do, learn to live) it was a point-by-point answer to the scheme of in-service education and training, linking self-fulfilment with the acquisition of techniques adaptable to one's occupation.

Evaluation problems

5. Needless to say, it might have been as well to verify that promises were kept and that the training provided did indeed contribute to improve the professional abilities and human qualities of the teachers who had participated. This was the mutual desire of both the Ministry of Education (concerned with the cost/benefit aspect) and the IFEPP, actuated by scientific curiosity and anxious to adapt its services more effectively to the requirements of the profession. In 1972 the Ministry had agreed to finance a research contract to enable IFEPP researchers to make a two-year critical survey of the personal and institutional results of the training or in more precise terms, to examine a training course in social psychology centering on the techniques of organising and running meetings, operating in groups and adapting to change and to evaluate the effects of the course on the behaviour of teachers, the conception they have of their function and their relations with administrators and representatives of industry. Because of financial restrictions, this survey did not get beyond the preparatory stage (54). Nevertheless, the preparatory work revealed a number of significant features which are common to all INSET projects carried out for purposes of innovation.

6. The study proved to be instructive at the outset because of its own methodological difficulties. An evaluation calls for standards of reference and objective criteria. But a training course which is primarily designed to enable each participant to obtain a truer insight into what he is and the way he relates to other people cannot by definition conform to any specific standard and it is impossible to judge objectively whether it is a success or a failure. Furthermore, it is not so certain that the expectations and projects of the various participants i.e. the trainees (55), the trainers, the training institute, and the employing institute are consistent with one another and pursue convergent objectives. To ascertain whether this is so, prior consultations would have to be held which would perhaps be incompatible with the progress of the course, one of the mainsprings of which is precisely the detection and transcending of any conflicts.... It is also very likely that results which are considered desirable by some (for example, the trainees) would, for various reasons, be considered harmful by others who are their partners in a collective task.

7. It was not therefore possible to adopt a model beforehand and researchers had to confine themselves to making an inventory of observable effects on the trainees, and on the schools in which they taught, i.e. at personal, professional and institutional level. They also used a series of convergent approaches, interviewing the trainees individually, circulating questionnaires to pupils (whether or not the latter had teachers who had been trainees), conducting pilot studies of schools, and collecting a wide range of views from teachers (trainees and others), union officials, administrative personnel, parents, etc.

8. A number of new difficulties then arose in interpreting the effects observed. In considering an effect assessed as beneficial or harmful (or both, according to the witnesses consulted) how was it possible to ascertain what was due to actual training, what was attributable to the antecedents, personality and motivations of the trainee and what would be

ascribed to the characteristics of or reactions to the environment. For both the individual who receives it and the institution which feels its repercussions, training thus emerges as intrinsically inseparable from what precedes, accompanies and follows it and also from its context. In other words it is impossible to judge the expediency of a course of training if it is not explicitly part of a specific project to change or reform the educational institution.

9. Despite this complete uncertainty (we are in a vicious circle where training is essentially dependent on the very things it is designed to influence), the interviews and surveys have provided an appreciable amount of useful data. They may be summarised as follows.

10. Training in social psychology is neither harmless nor inoperative. Its effects are felt by the trainees themselves, they are observable among their pupils (shown by the survey as more sensitive to the emotional factors of their group situation and more conscious of their personal and collective responsibility for their own training and also more critical of the institution) and they are perceived by their colleagues and the administrative authorities. It influences the personality of the trainee (personal awareness and self-acceptance) and his professional activity and it undoubtedly helps him to renounce his authority, based on his function or personal competence and merge with the teacher-pupil group. It also facilitates his relations with the institution i.e. it enhances the lucidity of his critical judgement of the institution and of the reactions, overt or covert, to his presence, his influence and his activity.

11. Even if we disregard divergent criticisms of ideological or emotional origin, training in social psychology has ambivalent effects, not only on the beginner who rashly transposes his group experiences to his own classroom but also on the trained teacher who can use the group-leading techniques he has correctly assimilated not only to restore his authority in a new guise but also to divest himself of that authority without disconcerting his pupils i.e. he can use it either to manipulate or to emancipate. If training in social psychology is required for radical innovation it is not necessarily the depository of that innovation. The fact remains that by its very nature and because it develops an awareness of the expectations of individuals it fosters more sensitivity to the fundamental distortions which, at the present time, separate the profound desire of the pupils for genuine self-fulfilment and the social aim of productivity which gives pride of place to vocational training in the educational system. In this way a training in social psychology is an indicator and even a catalyst of institutional unrest and it is up to the institutional authorities themselves to decide whether they accept the attendant risks (in the full knowledge that a high temperature cannot be brought down by refusing to use the thermometer).

12. These few remarks are an indication in themselves of the response to the following question: is it advisable and even necessary to include a training in social psychology in an INSET designed to foster innovation? It would seem that the answer would have to be affirmative, on two counts. Inasmuch as innovation is itself a source of great anxiety to the teacher who is obliged to change his function and status, this training will help him to overcome his anxiety and make it an instrument of progress. In the same way, it will enable him to help his pupils to endure the conflicts and anxieties which are inherent in innovation as they are inherent in group-based self-training, in the absence of the security-inducing tutelage of dogmatic traditional teaching styles (of the paternalist or materialist-type). In this sense training in social psychology has its place not only in continuing training designed to encourage changes in teaching style but in any initial training aimed at emancipation in teaching, individual initiative and co-operation. This said, the process logically leads from relational analysis to an always critical institutional analysis, first of the educational system and subsequently of society as a whole.

13. This is a risk which is acceptable provided we know what we are doing. It is a risk inherent in democracy. It now remains to make the operation efficient and profitable and this presupposes a number of requirements which are admittedly difficult to reconcile. For example, this training can only be voluntary, and yet there must be sufficient teachers taking part to form teams (only teams can change the environment without being neutralised by it). Furthermore, it must be understood that the first phases of this training are often disruptive, to a greater or lesser extent. Arrangements must therefore be made for supporting structures to give everybody an opportunity of going still further.

14. It also seems indispensable - and this was the view of the IFEPP managers just before the agreement with the government broke down - that the employing institution and the training institution (which cannot but be outside the institution) should arrange for conserted action - which does not mean identity of views - regarding the objectives of the training. Even if it is inter-occupational in its procedure, the training remains occupational in its final purpose. It prepares the trainees for a definite function and it is the employer's responsibility to make the requirements of this function clear to the approved training body. As the training is intended for volunteers, there must be an active system of harmonisation or confrontation of projects not only before and during the courses but on the return of the trainees to their schools.

15. It is obvious that the educational authorities cannot deliberately insert a training in social psychology of this type into the initial and further training programmes for teachers without having a clear idea of what they expect from the actual training and from the educational system itself and without the intention of discussing the question with the teachers scheduled to receive that training. Here again, what is required is not an improbable consensus so much as a joint decision to face up to the conflicts inherent in the nature of things and thus convert them into factors of progress.

16. With this aim in view, training in social psychology itself tends to become a continuous process with alternating phases in which theory is first discussed and then tried out in practice, each phase representing not only an evaluation of the preceding phase but a period of training in itself. It is not only a time for acquiring a deeper understanding of oneself and a fuller insight into the action to be jointly taken but it is also a permanent analysis of the evolution of the system. The introduction of these factors of lucidity and responsibility (with all their hazards), this personal and collective attitude of evaluation and judicious control would undoubtedly be a decisive innovation. It would mark the transition of the institution to adulthood if it is indeed true that adulthood in societies, no less than in individuals, is being able to tolerate insecurity.

Section III

CONCLUSIONS

AN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED

Introduction

1. The first section of this study outlined the chaotic pattern of INSET in France today. The second section picked out four examples from this tangle which were, for various reasons, considered worthy of interest. It now remains to use these descriptions to clarify the essentials of the INSET problem as it confronts policy makers and administrative authorities today. We shall do so with a view to immediate action rather than theoretical prospects. We shall seek to identify obstacles to urgent remedial action instead of extrapolating observable trends in order to deduce what the teacher and his training will probably be like in the year 2000. Both approaches have their value and are, moreover, complementary. We will stick to the first, Peter's principle needing no further exemplification.

I. FROM AN ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION TO THE PROBLEM ITSELF

I.1 An assessment of the description

2. Notwithstanding their differences, the four cases studied in Section II have one feature in common, i.e. all concern in-service training intended to increase the efficiency of teachers far more for the benefit of the education system as a whole, their own discipline or their category, than for their personal advantage in terms of prestige or remuneration. That is why all four cases are not only innovations but innovative factors. In all instances the training offered to established teachers (in itself a new development) is designed to enable them to adopt a new and even innovatory approach to their teaching, while the innovations in training are related to the desired reform of teaching methods at a particular level of education, in a given subject or in general. But the major innovation clearly concerns the key educational factor, i.e. the teacher/pupil relationship, involving a pupil-centred approach to the subject-matter to be assimilated.

3. From the standpoint of innovation, this consideration does not preclude the other forms of INSET that were referred to. There is no doubt nothing new about the refresher courses intended to fill the gaps (better late than never) which it might have been better to avoid, had circumstances permitted. It is both more novel and more acceptable to provide for the systematic and periodic updating of a range of subjects doomed to obsolescence and to ward off a decline in proficiency among those who think they can rest on the laurels of their initial learning. But the INSET activities which lead to specialisation, upgrading and job changes can all help to adjust the education system more

efficiently to its function and to the requirements imposed by social developments. The system becomes more consistent if its administrative staff and inspectorate are recruited among teachers through appropriate INSET channels. Furthermore, if teachers were to enjoy facilities enabling them to prepare for a different occupation - as other workers do under Act N° 71.575 - the education system would have everything to gain since, relieved of the tensions arising among teachers who feel trapped, it could replace them as they leave by late-starters with a vocation for teaching and accordingly achieve greater contact with the outside world.

4. Of course, there would have to be a genuine desire to see the system opened up to the outside world. More generally speaking, irrespective of whether continuing training seeks to adapt the teacher more effectively to a stable or to a changing role, enable him to switch to another post in the education system or to retrain for another type of activity, all the measures involved must be conceived from the overall standpoint of the institution in question. What is important is to find the guiding principle around which these measures can form a coherent system meeting all requirements, both those already covered and any others. This principle (or set of principles) can only be found through an analysis of the functions of the education system and their development, i.e. by returning to the very concept of innovation or, more specifically, to what R. Bolam calls "the complex business of educational innovation".

I.2 Innovation, modernisation, democratisation

5. Like R. Bolam we may repeat the definition of innovation proposed by P. Dalin, i.e. "A deliberate attempt to improve practice in relation to certain desired objectives", together with the two questions prompted by this definition: "Whose desired objectives?" and "Whose definition of 'improve'?". An attempt to improve assumes a preconception of what is better and therefore of the function assigned to the education system by the decision makers. Along with both G. de Landsheere (56) and A. Lichnerowicz (57) - and also R. Haby, Minister of Education (58) - the logic of the situation requires us to follow the thread back from the training given to teachers to the educational concept of the society concerned, hence to the underlying concept of that society, and any technical solution accordingly presupposes a policy decision.

6. Innovation in education is bound up with the social concepts of progress or development, with all the ambiguity which characterises these two terms, especially since any illusion of pre-established harmony or a significantly positive correlation between economic development and social progress has been dispelled. Nevertheless, the term "equality of opportunity" still assumes a prominent place in every programme for the reform of education, in France as well as elsewhere. It was included in the action programme of the Council of the European Communities in the terms of the following recommendation: "The achievement of equal opportunity for free access to all forms of education is an essential aim of the education policies of all Member States and its importance must be stressed in conjunction with other economic and social policies in order to achieve equality of opportunity in society" (59). Similarly, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has just held a conference on the development of democratic institutions in Europe and a commission has examined the relationships between "Education policies and democracy". The theme "School systems and inequality of opportunity" (60) received a significantly parallel treatment with two others: "The influence of the school system and teacher training on beliefs and behaviour with respect to democracy" and "Aims and methods of education policy in the school". In short, innovation in teaching - to which INSET must contribute - covers in France, as in all Member countries, what in 1968-69 was called the modernisation and democratisation of education, the two terms centering on equality of opportunity as

explicitly set out in the fundamental objectives of education in Section 1 of the Act of 11th July, 1975. It may therefore be concluded that the essential aim of INSET is to enable teachers to become better equipped to use teaching methods which promote equality of opportunity.

7. It is unfortunate that the term "equality of opportunity" lends itself to a wide range of interpretations, each leading to a different idea about which types of proficiency should have priority. We shall not go into the welter of discussions in which the most varied considerations are quite justifiably interwoven, such as motivation (notably justice or economic efficiency), objectives (equality of access or equality of results - whether or not equality is equated with identity and educational success is dissociated from the social hierarchy), potential abilities (i.e. the whole controversy over the roles played by innate ability and acquired skills in educational success or failure), not to mention the covert aims or byproducts of the automatic effects of existing structures. To throw a little light on this matter, let us simply set out three types of position:

a) some consider that innate gifts do not exist, so we can (and must) seek ultimate equality for all at the highest level of an education which is regarded, on the basis of social criteria, as that appropriate to modern man;

b) others hold that inequalities - irrespective of their origin - are a fact of life and that justice and common sense simply call for the removal of material obstacles which handicap some more than others, after which the best man should win ... but education is education and the elite remain the elite (limited, by definition);

c) an intermediate approach is to identify a point in the educational career (the end of compulsory schooling, for example) when as many young people as possible should have access to the highest possible level of learning and the capacity to utilise that learning in everyday life, personally, collectively, professionally, and in both civic and private situations.

I.3 Towards an operational approach to the problem

8. This third position, which does not depend on any categorical ideology, could provide a concrete basis for the concerted action required before a general INSET programme is introduced. Even if the end result is simply to take stock of the points of agreement and disagreement and reach a temporary compromise as a basis for action (as is usually the case in this kind of negotiation), it might be worthwhile for the education authorities and teachers to discuss the following problem:

a) since financial constraints do not leave much room for manoeuvre, what is the best way to use modern methods of transmitting and acquiring knowledge - as well as the experience acquired about the learning process - to achieve this "optimised" form of equality of opportunity which everyone seeks?

b) how is teacher training - and more particularly, in-service education - to be geared to this strategy?

9. This approach is operational insofar as the replies given to the question determine the measures to be envisaged. However, these replies may be varied and call for different strategies, since the skills to be developed will vary according to the nature of the handicaps detected and the corresponding supporting measures. Ultimately, even agreement on the programme by no means smooths away all the obstacles to its implementation. We shall examine the following two types of uncertainty in turn:

- those which continue to influence the objectives of INSET even after agreement has been reached on the "equality of opportunity" sought;
- those concerning the methods, procedures and other means of implementation.

II. UNCERTAINTIES

10. Before starting to list the difficulties to be tackled, we should bear in mind that:
- the issues of concern to us are of a practical rather than speculative nature;
- our purpose is essentially methodological; and consequently
- to avoid any implicit assumptions in our reasoning, we have adopted a hypothesis that we recognise to be arbitrary:
  - among the tasks of the education system, we have assigned priority to its contribution to equality of opportunity; and consequently
  - INSET has been assigned the objective of developing the necessary skills in teachers to fulfill this task.

We now propose to describe the uncertainties which persist even within out hypothetical context.

II.1 Uncertainties concerning the objectives of INSET

11. There are many ways of approaching the problem of the school's contribution to the creation of equality of opportunity and the most common ones associate equality of opportunity with compensatory teaching. The aim is for all children - apart from the handicapped requiring special education - to complete the period of compulsory schooling with a level of knowledge covering everything they could not reasonably be allowed to ignore in this day and age (this is how the objective of primary schooling was defined a century ago). Since children enter the school system with very unequal abilities it is necessary to apply compensatory teaching methods throughout the compulsory schooling period and such methods should be as diversified and individualised as possible to ensure that each pupil is able to make up any lost ground and that a satisfactory general standard is achieved by all children at about the prescribed level at the end of compulsory schooling.

12. This would seem to be the sensible and fair approach, although it implies unformulated assumptions which must be borne in mind: it gives pride of place almost exclusively to cognitive (and measurable) objectives of education; it gives priority to a common level of knowledge over the right to differ; lastly it involves a linear and quantitative conception of progress and, accordingly, of falling behind and failure. This approach is a conceivable option; but it must be thought out carefully and its secondary effects must be measured. By way of illustration, one might follow the example of South Korea and systematically organise education in two complementary parts: the first adopting formal didactic methods to teach the curriculum to the class as a whole and the second using the same methods for small groups or individuals to provide the necessary coaching for those who have inadequately understood, assimilated or retained the subject matter taught in the general lesson. The model is quite similar to our former procedure in primary education, where the teacher measured his success by the percentage of pupils who passed the primary school certificate. The system is efficient as far as its own logic goes, but whether it suits our purpose is another matter. It is not patently absurd that more didactic and repetitive teaching methods should, for various reasons, be more suitable for children suffering social and educational handicaps. But is the model appropriate for a school population that has to be guided as a whole throughout an extended period of compulsory schooling in an atmosphere glutted with information? Is it geared to a changing, developed and pluralistic society which sets considerable store by independence for all and an open mind towards change? Everything suggests the answer to be no (otherwise it would be hard to explain the "world crisis in education").

13. In any event, it is clear what types of teaching skills have to be developed in teachers engaged in this kind of education where, in the last analysis, the essential point of reference is the level of knowledge to be reached at a given moment in the so-called "basic" disciplines. The teacher is primarily expected to master his discipline effectively enough to be able, without changing the essential nature of the subject matter, to pre-digest it in such a way as to make it accessible to all. He will be supplied with evaluation techniques to measure the ground to be made up at each stage in the teaching/learning process. In short, his training (initial and further) will fit into the context of what G. Ferry calls "academic pedagogical" problems. Two variants are to be found: in the traditional approach the good teacher is primarily, by intuition or empiricism, a good didactician - the person admired because he knows how to teach; in the more modern approach the didactic art rests on learning theories (for example, the Skinner type) and on more or less sophisticated technology and the teacher becomes an "educational engineer" and teaches by "adjusting", if not to social norms at least to educational norms. Whether the teacher's skills are primarily scientific or didactic, the activity for which he must be trained or retrained is always focused on the discipline (or disciplines in the case of the primary teacher taking all subjects).

14. It is clearly possible to devise quite a different approach: to define equality of opportunity, not in relation to a common curriculum but in relation to the self-fulfilment of each individual. Teaching practice will not then be repetitive and based on a pre-determined time concept but proceed step by step according to what the child is capable of doing and not according to what is supposed to be lacking in his education. At the child's request, he will be helped to overcome the obstacles that he will surely meet in his desire (spontaneous, if it is not frustrated) to acquire the knowledge which permeates his educational environment. Moreover, it is well known that, even as regards the basic tools of learning, particularly language, the school alone is incapable of compensating for social and educational inequalities, and therefore what is needed is "community teaching methods" (61) which enlist the combined efforts of teachers, parents and other competent persons available. As the educational objectives change in nature and dimension, teachers are adopting an approach which is bound up with what G. Ferry calls "emancipatory teaching methods" and their training accordingly depends more on "vocational/personal problems". This approach, frequently referred to in Section II, calls for no further explanation.

15. So far as INSET is concerned, these two approaches which are both coherent and a priori plausible entail a real problem: the first has greater appeal, while the second is probably a better way of handling the immediate factual problems. While by no means disputing the fact that disciplinary skills are also required when using emancipatory pupil-centred teaching methods and adopting a differentiated, co-operative or community approach, the chief need today is for the teacher to change his attitude. However, he is likely to be diverted from this objective by a type of model which is more consistent with his initial training and usual practices. In this connection, we are accordingly faced with the difficulties involved in implementing changes.

II.2 Difficulties involved in implementing changes

16. If there is no consensus, even a limited one based on very thorough negotiations to remove at least the major ambiguities concerning the objective pursued, INSET is bound to develop in an atmosphere of misunderstanding. On the one hand there is no clear demonstration and on the other no clear perception of the functional changes required in teaching attitudes, since those in favour advance incompatible reasons and those against have conflicting objections. How can a change be brought about if we know neither what it is intended to do nor what it consists of? An initial source of misunderstanding arises from the very expression "education and training" which, while linking the two terms "teacher

education" and "teacher training" differentiates between them. The same ambiguity arises with the French "formation" (as also in the case of "training", according to whether it appears in the phrase "vocational training" or "training group"). In both languages, all these terms evoke different stereo-types from one person to the next. The term "education" and its French equivalent "culture" may mean either the traditional professional education or academic knowledge, or the personal development that is the outcome of a combination of formal studies and life experience, which clearly has a decisive impact on teaching practice. However, it is now known that this personal development, and to an even greater extent its educational effects, are also a part of training in the sense this term is used in social psychology. Thus, so far as training is concerned, we must make a distinction between the acquisition of didactic and pedagogic proficiency or professional skills (in which one is trained) and personality development which is facilitated and accelerated in the person trained by a group activity. And we must also avoid confusing the "trainer" in the psycho-sociological sense with the "trainer" skilled in a technique and exercising the authority vested in him by his qualifications or by his grade. There is no doubt that relatively profound collective thinking must precede any INSET scheme which seeks to avoid the pitfall of separating "education" from "training" or reducing one to the other. The case studies relating to the Orléans experiment, the Maurice Baquet course or the Besançon continuing training scheme for teachers of physical education provide quite clear illustrations of various planned or unplanned ways of getting round this type of difficulty.

17. It is therefore necessary to be clear from the start that "formation" in French and "education and training" in English imply both a radical change in the attitude (and consequently the personality) of the teacher and the acquisition of practical proficiency. Three essential contradictions then remain to be dealt with:

a) if INSET is to have appreciable effects (particularly in creating equality of opportunity), it must be based on a willing personal commitment and spread rapidly enough to ensure that the individual changes do not lose their impact as a result of the homeostasis of the education system (a situation partly remedied by group training courses, for example);

b) INSET calls for both direct contact with actual teaching practice and a certain non-involvement, the latter being perhaps even more important in respect of the educational institution. A balance must be maintained between the respectively irreplaceable benefits of, on the one hand, "action research", participation in "School-based Curriculum Development" and, more modestly, the continuing training of teachers in group activities as described above, and on the other hand, the de-conditioning and de-centering processes and thinking fostered by the training courses, contacts with universities, out-of-school activities, and inter-occupational training institutions. It is of course also necessary to avoid the drawbacks corresponding to each. This is no doubt a question of alternating activities (as suggested by S. Marklund) and in our system this involves difficulties, particularly for the authorities who have to sponsor, finance and authorise the activities outside the system which are chosen voluntarily by teachers;

c) in the same connection, the whole chain of command must be drawn into an operation which concerns the entire system just as much as the individuals, or even while at the same time hierarchical relationships should be suspended temporarily (even at the risk of their disappearing permanently); this is essential to ensure that the fixed quality of roles does not frustrate individual development.

III. PROSPECTS

18. This list of difficulties (even in the context of our hypothesis) partly explains the present situation with respect to INSET in France: there are still uncertainties and reservations in connection with the official education project which justify - and, conversely, are justified by - a basic scepticism among almost all teachers.

The effects of this situation have not all been negative. On the contrary, the silence of the central administration has given full scope to fruitful, though somewhat sporadic, initiatives. Now is the time to widen their scope and transform the unchecked torrent of trial and error into careful experiment.

In any event, a process is under way. As was said earlier in the case of an individual operation, the "critical mass" is now perhaps almost reached for the whole system. If the energy released is to be kept under control, it would be as well to set up regulating mechanisms, communication networks, support and research bodies, etc.

19. Educational innovation is "a complex business" indeed. If it is to be organised on a country-wide basis, the formula we have already quoted as applicable to a regional inspector in his own "Department", i.e., "administrate and conduct research", must be adopted at national level. To establish teaching methods which can be no more than experimental at present, we must have an experimental education policy, but that is not to say that we should proceed haphazardly. Quite the contrary, since any INSET project which is conceptually coherent and effective in practice (today continuing training, tomorrow lifelong education) presupposes a well-defined education project organised around a guiding principle. We have referred to equality of opportunity which is approved by all. This equality would merely have to be combined with a concrete project for training the citizen to ensure that the school system contributed to the construction of a genuine democracy. The overall system could then be democratically discussed with the teachers and with the country at large. At present, it may doubtless seem visionary to hope for a consensus, but that is no reason to reject concerted action. And we have still no doubt not found the ideal solution for the education system and teacher training, which is all the more reason to adopt an experimental approach. And suppose it involves risks? All the more reason to face up to them squarely, which is the mark of an adult society.

NOTES

(1) "L'Education", 15th January, 1976

(2) "Présentation de quelques processus d'innovation en matière de la formation continue des instituteurs en France" (Presentation of a few innovative processes employed in continuing primary teacher training in France) by G. Noël - Add. No 2 to CERI/IMTEC/75.07, OECD, Paris, 29th July, 1975.

(3) "Experiments in Continuing Teacher Training", by G. Ferry, in New Patterns of Teacher Education and Tasks - Country Experience: Belgium, France, United Kingdom - p. 50, OECD, Paris 1974.

(4) 1966: Perspectives de l'enseignement supérieur scientifique et de la recherche.

(5) 1968: Pour une école nouvelle: formation des maîtres et recherche en éducation.

(6) CCC/EGT(75) Misc. 19, p. 5.

(7) "L'Education", 15th January, 1976 - It is no doubt worth recalling, in particular for foreign readers, that this magazine, which for a long time was associated with the Ministry of Education under a formula providing for "independence in interdependence", is now free of any connection with the public administration, or with the trade unions.

(8) The Teacher and Educational Change: A New Role - Vol. I, p. 334, OECD, Paris 1974.

(9) Cf. Arna Bonboir "Une pédagogie pour demain" (Teaching for to-morrow) - PUF, 1974 p. 212.

(10) "L'Education", 15th January, 1976, p. 31.

(11) Underlined in the text.

(12) Cf. Report of the Colloque d'Amiens, in "Revue Française de Pédagogie", No 5, Nov.-Dec., 1968, p. 20.

(13) DECS/EGT(75)14 and CCC/EGT(75) Misc. 19.

(14) New Patterns of Teacher Education and Tasks - Country Experience: Belgium, France and United Kingdom, p. 39, op.cit.

(15) CERI/IMTEC/75.07, p. 26: "France: les exemples de formation des personnels scolaires". (France: examples of training for school personnel).

(16) In "L'Education" dated 9th March, 1972, reproduced in the above document.

(17) Cf. G. Ferry, op.cit. p. 42.

(18) Cf. G. Ferry, op.cit. p. 50.

(19) Cf. R. Haby, 1975 "Pour une modernisation du système éducatif, p. 5.

(20) Circular dated 2nd January, 1975 "Les animateurs de Formation continue" (Organisers of continuing training) - B.O. No 1 dated 9th January, 1975.

(21) Cf. G. Ferry, op.cit. p. 44.

(22) Cf. G. Ferry, op.cit. pp. 31-54

(23) Document CERI/IMTEC/75.07, Add. 2, op.cit.

(24) Cf. G. Noël, Document CERI/IMTEC/75.07, Add. No 2, par. 96.

(25) Cf. G. Noël, op.cit., par. 93-94

(26) "Nord Pédagogie", No 25-26, 1974, Lille, CRDP.

(27) INRDP survey. "La rénovation pédagogique à l'école élémentaire" (School year 1972-73), (The reform of teaching methods in the primary school), roneo.

(28) Results published together with some interesting comments in "L'école libératrice", the professional journal of the National Union of Primary Teachers (Syndicat National des Instituteurs): issue dated 14th March, 1975 (File: Continuing training: assessments).

(29) Cf. par. 6 above.

(30) Cf. G. Noël, op.cit., par. 32-41.

(31) "Une autre forme de stage" (Another form of training course), CRDP Annals, Amiens, 1975, roneo.

(32) See "L'école libératrice", No 29, 13th June, 1975 and "L'Education", 15th January, 1976, p. 27.

(33) See "Media", No 7576, December, 1975. "Les Amis de Sèvres", No 79, September, 1975. "L'Education", No 240, Special Audiovisual Number, 20th March, 1975.

(34) See R. Toraille "L'animation pédagogique", ESF, Paris, 1973.

(35) See Chapter I, p. 22, par. 33 "Les CIFFA".

(36) Cf. M. Debeauvais: "L'Education", 15th January, 1976, p. 24; G. Ferry, op.cit., p. 37.

(37) Cf. G. Noël, op.cit., par. 68 to 89.

(38) Cf. "L'Education", No 273, 26th February, 1976: "Nouveaux formateurs pour instituteurs actuels" (New trainers for the primary teachers of today) which is an excellent survey of the problem.

(39) Cf. G. Noël, op.cit., par. 68-74.

(40) See CERI/IMTEC/75.07, article reproduced from "Français d'aujourd'hui", May 1974.

(41) See "Cahiers Pédagogiques", No 139, pp. 10-15, G. Ferry, op.cit., pp. 47, 48.

(42) "Tendances nouvelles de la formation et des tâches des enseignants - expériences nationales", op.cit. (New trends in the training and functions of teachers - experience of various countries).

(43) "Education permanente", No 28, "Corps et formation", pp. 39-40.

(44) See "Nord Pédagogie" already quoted. But this is only one example.

(45) Op.cit., p. 34.

(46) Cf. G. Belbenoit: "The Teacher's role in Curriculum Development - A French View", in Teachers as Innovators, OECD, Paris (to be published in 1976).

(47) For a fuller account, see: R. Mérand "Stage Maurice Baquet: Rénovation de l'EP et innovation pédagogique" in "Sport et développement humain", Editions Sociales, Paris, 1975 et documentation FSGT, 24, rue Yves Toudic, 75010 Paris.

(48) Cf. Bulletin du CRDP de Besançon, BP 1153, F 25003, Besançon CEDEX, No.spécial, juin 1975: "La formation continue des enseignants d'ESP, Bilan, vue prospective".

(49) See Case study 1.

(50) C.R.D.P. d'Orléans (55 rue N.D. de la Recouvrance, F 45012 Orléans Cedex. "Un essai de formation continue dans le 1er cycle", roneo. 201 pages, October 1975.

(51) See Section I.

(52) Cf. Section I.

(53) Cf. G. Ferry, o.p. p. 44-46.

(54) Roneoed copies may be obtained from INSEPP, 140 bis rue de Rennes, 75006 PARIS. See also "Formation professionnelle et/ou personnelle", Payot, Paris 1975.

(55) The term trainees is used in the present paper to designate teachers who have attended a course in social psychology at the IFEPP or at least part of such a course.

(56) G. de Landsheere: "La formation des enseignants demain" (Plan Europe 2000, to be published in 1976).

(57) A. Lichnerowicz: "Projet éducatif et formation des maîtres" in "L'Education", No. 267, p. 31, 15th January, 1976.

(58) "Tout projet d'éducation est par lui-même un projet de société" (Submission of the 1975 Budget to Parliament).

(59) Resolution comprising an action programme in the field of education (Working Document of 11th December, 1975).

(60) Mittes (1976): Working paper for the Conference.

(61) R. Millot (1976): "Vers une pédagogie communautaire?". Revue française de Pédagogie, No. 35, pp. 19 and 24.